THE SURVEY

Vol. LXX. No. 6 MONTHLY June 1934

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"Miss Bailey" is on vacation this month and the usual article in the series, Miss Bailey Says . . ., is omitted. She will return in the July Midmonthly discussing When Clients Are Set in Their Ways, and will continue regularly thereafter.

Files of The Survey will be found in public and college libraries. All issues are indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Ask the Librarian.

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SO THEY SAY

Even a sociologist is not in on the secrets of Heaven.—*George Belane, Boston.*

. . . that even justice which everybody howls for and nobody wants.—*New York Times editorial.*

Education, not law, must solve problems of taste and choice.—*Judge John Monroe Woolsey, New York.*

Freedom from work is still all that leisure means to millions.—*Ernest Elmo Calkins in Recreation.*

If we treat the destitute unemployed like human beings they will act like human beings.—*Elwood Street in The Forum.*

In group thinking we need less passion and more thinking.—*Helen Cody Baker, Chicago Council of Social Agencies.*

The state has a right to punish prisoners but it has no right to destroy them for all future use to society.—*Judge Max G. Baron, St. Louis.*

If there is anything in our economy that is dependent upon capitalism it is philanthropy.—*Mark M. Jones, social economist, New York.*

It is high time that our whole business world faced the need of moral repentance.—*Rev. W. Russell Bowie, Grace Episcopal Church, New York.*

Facts won't make people plan for their communities. People have to want to plan.—*Neva R. Deardorff, director of research, New York Welfare Council.*

Universal health insurance and group medicine are probably much nearer than we think.—*Homer Wickenden, general director, United Hospital Fund, New York.*

Higher education is not a luxury but a necessity for a country which hopes to achieve something more than material success.—*James Bryant Conant, president, Harvard University.*

As long as public office is considered public property for the gain of the officeholder, public rights never will be protected.—*Judge Florence E. Allen, US Circuit Court of Appeals.*

Life, individual or social, is associated with a persistent effort to determine where lies the middle of the road that leads to progress.—*Bailey B. Burritt, director, New York AICP.*

The appalling thing about consumers is not only the slowness with which they get going, but their incredible relentlessness when they do get started.—*Henry W. Wallace, secretary of agriculture.*

The youth of America is not ready or willing to scrap liberty, but they are looking upon it with enquiring minds.—*Carl W. Ackerman, dean, Columbia University School of Journalism.*

The economic law of a highly productive system requires only the continuous recirculation of large incomes, not their elimination.—*David Cushman Coyle to American Society of Mechanical Engineers.*

When any man ventures to scoff at the use of brains in government he should be asked to explain by what part of the anatomy he believes human affairs should be conducted.—*Donald R. Richberg, counsel, NRA.*

I cannot accept the simple thesis that the depression . . . is merely a depression to be solved by a recovery. We need not recovery alone, but reform, and both of them at once.—*A. A. Berle, Jr., city chamberlain, New York.*

I do not believe that people can be compelled to do for long anything that is alien to their national character and I do not believe that there are any safe compulsions which may be used on human nature.—*Rexford G. Tugwell, under secretary, Department of Agriculture.*

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Crew of the National Conference

Left to right: C. Whit Pfeiffer, secretary Kansas City Committee on Arrangements and director the Charities Fund; Howard R. Knight, general secretary National Conference of Social Work; Katherine F. Lenroot, Conference president for 1935, assistant chief, US Children's Bureau; William Hodson, Conference president for 1934, commissioner of public welfare, New York City; Evelyn K. Davis, New York, chairman National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work, assistant director National Organization for Public Health Nursing; Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.

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THE SURVEY

June
1934

Volume LXX
No. 6

Rising to a New Challenge

The National Conference of Social Work Hears an Evangelist—and Likes It

By GERTRUDE SPRINGER

INTELLECTUALLY controversial, emotionally explosive, shaking the staid, thrilling the adventurous, the National Conference of Social Work, meeting the last week in May in Kansas City, Mo., brought professional social workers to the crossroads of social if not political philosophy. The Conference opened on a low note, with relief, its sins of omission and commission, as the theme. Here were more than 4400 delegates, preponderantly young, abundantly masculine, who were dulled by disillusion. The glowing enthusiasm with which they had left the Detroit meeting a year before was cold and dead. Qualified promises could no longer stir them. Dreams had been lost in confusion and they saw nothing ahead but hard reality.

For a day they went their sober way, conscientiously threading through the program to their special interests. The speech of Rexford G. Tugwell that first night, with its challenge that "We stand, face to face today, with a clear choice and all of us have to take sides," brought the first stirring. Then came swift-running rumors that Mary van Kleeck, director of the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, and virile critic of the New Deal, would offer a choice still more adventurous than that presented by Mr. Tugwell.

Everything that happened afterward at the Conference must be viewed in the light of the psychology engendered at the meeting on May 22 when 1500 people jammed into a hall designed for a third that number, blocked aisles and exits, and actually endangered themselves in their determination to hear Miss van Kleeck discuss Our Illusions Regarding Government (see page 190). Never in a long experience of conferences has this observer witnessed such a prolonged ovation as followed the concluding period of Miss van Kleeck's cool, beautifully reasoned and dispassionately argued case for a break with our existing form of government into a collectivism shorn of the profit motive. To her wearied and discouraged colleagues in social work she brought a new hope and dream when they had ceased to hope and dream, and she came in the person of an undeniable leader, clothed with the courage for a good fight.

The effect on her hearers was electric. The younger and more volatile rose as to a trumpet-call. The soberest were shaken. Even the numbers who only faintly knew what it was all about reacted in a way that can only be described as a shot in the arm. From that moment a good part of the Conference threw its earlier concerns to the winds and went off in full cry behind leaders of one gospel or another. The Tugwell school of thought had voluble adherents (see page 187). Eduard C. Lindeman of New York, with his urgence to "find goals which can be realized and acted upon" (see page 185), gained steadily in followers throughout the week, though he did not have the "good press" enjoyed by Miss van Kleeck.

At the conference dinner, the night following the van Kleeck sensation, William Hodson, president of the Conference, took cognizance of what he termed "the repudiation of the present national administration" by a "distinguished member of this conference" and made it the occasion for stating his own position (see page 189). Mr. Hodson's remarks had the effect of taking Miss van Kleeck and her followers out of the stream of the Conference and, to his own surprise, making their cause an issue of free speech. Hotheads sought means of getting protests onto the floor of the Conference, but in only one group, and that not affiliated with the Conference, did the excitement crystallize into a resolution "respectfully but firmly" protesting "the action of the president of the National Conference of Social Work in criticizing and opposing . . . a single paper read before and at the request of one division. . . ."

For the rest of the week the impact of personalities threw the Conference out of all balance and proportion. Distinguished and scholarly papers presented by national figures who had traveled long distances to present them, were greeted by a corporal's guard of listeners while the largest halls available

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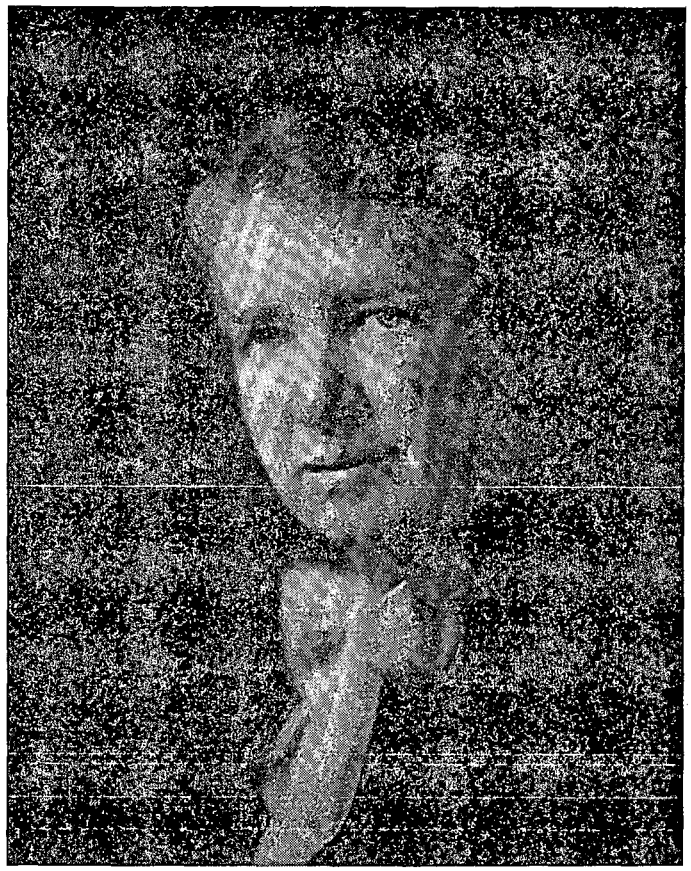
would not hold the crowds following the proponents of new ideologies. Somewhere around the rim of the whirlpool, faithful souls who refused to be drawn into the swirl, gathered together for the programmed discussion of such subjects as case work and child care and delinquency and so on, but it was an adept chairman who could hold the discussion clear of allusions to the excitement that permeated the corridors and surged in hotel lobbies. The issues that had promised to be controversial were lost. The questions raised by children's court and probation officials over the Glueck study, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents (see 1000 Delinquent Boys by Richard C. Cabot, M.D., The Survey, February 15, 1934, page 38), had one brief airing and were never heard from again. The whole business of federal relief, the planned backbone of the Conference, was dutifully treated. Harry Hopkins' qualified promises of a planned public welfare system were listened to respectfully (see page 186), but the applause must have sounded strangely tame to one who only a year before in Detroit had had the power to lift social workers off their feet. The proposals for medical and health insurance which, it had been anticipated, would sweep one wing of the Conference into controversy, raised little more than a passing breeze. The discussion over public or private dominance in future social work never reached its anticipated proportions. The meeting to vote on changes in the organization structure of the Conference, for years held sacrosanct, mustered only a sprinkling of folk to vote a hasty Aye and go their way.

Opinions were divided as to the extent of the conviction—or conversion—of Miss van Kleeck's large audiences. The réclamé of the first meeting and its provocative reports in the local newspapers undoubtedly stimulated interest in the later ones. The Hodson statement, plus Miss van Kleeck's rejoinder when she repeated her paper, Our Illusions Regarding Government, before an almost riotous meeting under the wing of the somewhat dazed but highly gratified Joint Committee on Unemployment, helped to make her a symbol of something splendidly courageous or terribly dangerous, according to the way you looked at it,—anyway, somebody to see and hear. The situation had certain elements of the big American public going to see a fight. It would be unfair however to imply that curiosity had too much to do with the case. It went deeper than that. Here was a hope held out to those who were all but hopeless by a woman whose intellectual integrity and high courage, whether you agreed with her or not, were above challenge.

THERE were many interesting and wholly idle conjectures as to the way the crowd would have turned had Mr. Tugwell remained in Kansas City and given three addresses instead of one, and of how a poll of the conference as between Tugwell and van Kleeck for president would have turned out. Opinion generally seemed to give the Tugwell platform of a planned and regulated economy within the framework of democratic government a substantial lead; but everyone admitted that there were plenty of people in the Conference, especially among the younger element, who were ready to follow Miss van Kleeck over the fence or anywhere else. As a matter of fact, the Conference chose its next president out of the government itself, Katherine F. Lenroot of the Children's Bureau; and nominated for the succeeding year a man whose liberality is well known but who, by no stretch of the imagination, can be called radical, the Very Rev. Monsignor Robert F. Keegan of the Catholic Charities of New York City.

This sixty-first annual Conference found itself, to its own amazement, more radical—or more free if you like—than any of its predecessors. As someone pointed out, there have always been radical sideshows, but this year the radicals had the big tent and the conservatives were in the sideshows. Yet curiously enough there was little difference of opinion on the salutary effect of the impact of dynamic thought on this particular conference. It pulled it out of old ruts and invigorated it from top to bottom. There were various prophecies as to what it might do to future conferences. There were even people who ventured that within two years the new current will have broken out of the present Conference stream into a channel of its own. There were among soberer heads, most of them it must be admitted tinged with gray, serious fears that if social workers carried back to their communities the do-or-die spirit in which many of them left Kansas City, if they followed the counsel to ally themselves with the radicals of their communities, they would promptly find themselves jobless and out on a limb. The acid test of the conversion of the social workers to the new doctrines through the intellectual logic of the new leaders will come when the mass emotion engendered at the Conference meets the stark realism of local communities and quite possibly finds personal security endangered.



MARY VAN KLEECK
Stormy petrel of the Conference

The Conference ended almost solemnly. Some 800 people heard Monsignor Keegan's counsel to be of stout heart; saw Mr. Hodson pass the gavel to Miss Lenroot with the words, "Katherine, I am giving you a great responsibility," and heard her promise, her voice shaken with feeling, "For the coming year social work shall march on." For a long moment everyone sat quiet. The hall emptied slowly. There was no gathering in groups to talk things over. Each went his way. It was as though every man and woman there was looking deep into his own heart.

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The National Conference at Work

By GERTRUDE SPRINGER and HELEN CODY BAKER

THERE really was a conference as well as a revival and plenty of people went their way through the program focused on the realities of the professional job in the current scene. With the single exception of the Boston conference in 1930 with a registration of 5100, this one, with 4418, was the largest in conference history. Every state in the union was represented.

The conference opened dully on a hot Sunday night. The heat, the crowd, the long "opening exercises," the address of the president, William Hodson, frankly the unprepared effort of a tired man who had flown that afternoon from New York in order to be there at all, left the audience weary and restless. Word had passed that the address of C. M. Bookman on The Federal Relief Administration (see page 194) would be available in printed form. As a result of all this his spoken words were given to a crowd in full retreat. It was not until the next night that the delegates and a large audience of Kansas Cityans found their first "lift" in the address of Rexford G. Tugwell, assistant secretary of agriculture, on Relief and Reconstruction. The gist of his philosophy is stated elsewhere in this issue.

That plaguing question, "Where is the money coming from?" had an answer in the address of Herbert D. Simpson, professor of public finance at Northwestern University, given at the third general session. His assurance that, even by banker reckoning of resources, this country can afford "whatever amount of social work is deemed wise and necessary" fell on grateful ears. Professor Simpson was caustic in his criticism of present forms of taxation for purposes of relief, especially the general property tax: "To tax deflated farmers for the relief of deflated farmers, or to tax unemployed home-owners for the relief of unemployment seems to imply a degree of intellectual bankruptcy more acute than our economic insolvency." He described the sales tax as "taxing the relief basket to provide funds for purchasing another relief basket." He deplored the support by social workers, under the pressure of emergency needs, of "hasty, unwise, and vicious tax legislation," and prophesied that as a result of these stop-gaps "our statute books are going to be cluttered up with a mass of haphazard, half-baked, indiscriminate tax legislation which it may take twenty years to get rid of."

Professor Simpson believes that all relief and social work specifically associated with periods of depression ought not to be financed out of taxation of any kind but out of public credit: "The wisest of all tax policies would be to suspend taxes entirely during periods of acute depression, expand the volume of public borrowing to carry all expenses, and resume taxation again when business and industry have been restored to normal conditions."

The dinner on Wednesday night, with Harry L. Hopkins as featured speaker, turned out, by an unhappy combination of circumstances, to be a low spot. Twenty-five hundred people, crowded at tables in a large airy dance hall, remained practically unfed to the bitter end. The long table of delegates representing public social work in every state in the union, imposing in its idea, was lost in confusion. In spite of the efforts of an extraordinarily agile song leader good nature was badly strained. The clatter of waiters almost drowned the graceful little ceremonies of presenting the medal of the Conference to the surprised and wholly overcome veteran, Uncle Alec Johnson, and a great basket of flowers to social work's representative at the Montevideo Pan-American Conference, Sophonisba P. Breckenridge of Chicago. But not even confusion could spoil the charm with which Miss Breckenridge, following the lead, she said, of Jane Addams, who always gives quickly to someone else a gift which she likes very much, passed the tribute down the table to Uncle Alec. Nor could confusion mask the sincerity with which the gathering voted to send greetings to Miss Addams and Graham Taylor, absent but not forgotten leaders.

But in spite of this interlude Mr. Hopkins, when he rose to speak, faced an audience which, like himself, had borne about all it could. He spoke briefly and in generalities, assuring his listeners that "the administration will travel down the road which leads to security for the people and their homes," and that "we who serve the government have no apologies to make. I know of no government in the world I would rather serve than that of the United States." It was not the kind of message the Conference or Kansas City had expected and, even discounting all the strains that the evening had imposed on his—and their—patience, the delegates were distinctly let down.

BY the Friday night when Warren S. Thompson of the Scripps Foundation spoke on Population Trends and Social Work the delegates had gotten themselves into such an emotional vortex that his cool, scientific projection of their problems into a distant future fell on grateful ears. Anything that was definitely slowing down, even the birthrate, sounded good. His assurance that by 1980 we should be living in a middle-aged world was faintly comforting, in the face of ebullient youth movements, and the tasks of social workers which he envisaged in that world looked almost easy in contrast to those which now engulf them.

The section meetings, new device in conference organization (see The Survey, April 15, 1934, page 114) met all expectations by affording a balanced appraisal of the current situation in relation to relief and to larger social aspects as well.

Joanna C. Colcord of New York had a full house for the section on the administration of emergency relief. Here was an impartial analysis and summing up and, finally, the recommendations of the Committee on Current Relief Program, Division of Government and Social Work, of the AASW, for which Miss Colcord acted as spokesman. Few people could have heard that presentation without feeling that these social workers knew what they were talking about and could be trusted to ask for reasonable and righteous things. The plea for "a work program broad and diversified enough to provide reasonably suitable jobs at all times for all employable people who cannot find employment and are unable to maintain themselves otherwise," brought the kind of applause that denotes conviction. There was no evasion, no demand for the impossible in:

> We should like to see wages and hours so adjusted, in compliance with NRA standards, as to produce cash earnings which will provide a minimum subsistence without supplementary home relief.

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OWEN LOVEJOY, NEW YORK.
EX-PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK.
E.C. LINDEMAN, OF NEW YORK. PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.
MISS VIRGINIA WING, CLEVELAND, OHIO. CHAIRMAN OF HEALTH SERVICE.
MAUD MINOR HADDEN, (N.Y.) - GIRLS' SERVICE LEAGUE OF AMERICA.
MRS. MARY SWAIN ROUTZAHN. (N.Y.) - CONSULTANT IN SOCIAL WORK INTERPRETATION OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION.
RT. REV. MONSIGNOR R.F. KEEGAN, NEW YORK.
SOCIAL LITERATURE.

Kansas City Star and Times

We believe that it is within the competence of this nation to provide such work opportunities, and within its power to pay the bill.

Miss Colcord's committee recommended "further discussion of the proposal to divorce the administration of relief work from the provision of home relief by placing it under a separate division of government," and squarely faced a future in which large numbers of people are going to be quite permanently barred from participation in the ordinary processes of industry; in which the chance to work at all will be a precious opportunity, eagerly sought after; and in which the agencies of government will have to exercise imagination and ingenuity as never before to develop worthwhile tasks in the public service to use the powers which the machine has usurped.

These social workers asked too, for more active stimulation by the federal government of home relief in cash, and more positive policies for putting home relief on a "basis of true budgetary deficiency—including a normal allowance for rent." Turning their attention to the three-point program announced by the President in February, they "deplored any rigid separation between the relief program in the country and the city," and urged more individual consideration of rural families, who might possibly be unable to raise their own food on a "sink-or-swim basis." Cash wages were preferred to work-for-relief; the small farmer should not be reduced to peasantry but "permitted to become again a consumer of manufactured goods." On the second point they said in effect:

> Go slowly before removing stranded populations wholesale. Perhaps you can develop better conditions on the spot by using all the ways we know of rebuilding bodies and minds. Get them ready for a change, be sure they know what they are doing—then take only volunteers and not all of those.

They approved the decision of the Work Division of FERA to pay cash wages in urban regions but suggested as modifications in announced policies that workers should not be laid off at the end of six months, that working days should be adjusted to the number of dependents instead of based on a flat maximum of hours, that states should be required to cover all relief workers with compensation insurance and that the National Reemployment Service should be continued as an FERA work project registering all applicants for work relief.

The discussion which followed Miss Colcord's presentation centered on the committee's final recommendation: "That the FERA regard the care of families and persons who have no legal residence as its continuous responsibility as long as our settlement laws remain unamended," and that medical care, housing outside of congregate shelters and a work program with cash wages be included in the program.

AKIN to this appraisal of the administration of relief was a panel discussion, later in the week, led by Kenneth L. M. Pray of Philadelphia, substituting for Dorothy C. Kahn, which tried to find an answer to the question, "What Is Adequate Relief?" Out of a maze of discussion which seemed at first to lead nowhere but which gathered momentum and direction as it proceeded, several conclusions emerged that satisfied both speakers and listeners:

1. By adequate relief we mean food, clothing, shelter, protection of health and care in illness, and above all the conservation of self-respect which keeps people employable.

2. We cannot issue a blanket prescription for such adequate relief. We must consider individual needs. A permanent wave may be essential to a certain woman; the daily paper to a certain man.

3. Contributors and taxpayers have a right to demand that we spend their money wisely and economically. But when our most careful thought convinces us that a saving today means increased expenditures tomorrow we must tell the community about it and work with it toward this real economy.

4. Rent should be a part of every budget. Shelter is a basic necessity, "even in a temperate climate." Why should landlords pay the relief bill when grocers do not?

5. Work relief is preferable to cash or kind, but honest jobs are better still, and there is no real substitute for genuine employment.

Another section meeting the same morning served to draw relief administration out of the general and into the particular in state, city and rural programs. Aubrey Williams of the FERA was the competent witness for his own organization as it operates in the states. His talk was enlivened with thrusts at an economic order in which millions must live on relief, and at public ideas of what constitutes adequacy. Difficulties of administration are created, he said, by local attitudes. Political obstacles occur only when politics so permeate the life of the state that it is impossible to find persons of parts not mixed up with one camp or another. So:

> Through the maze of needs and desires of the unemployed, the requests of public officials and the desired procedures of social workers it has been necessary to evolve a program within the money available and oriented to the plans of the national recovery efforts. . . . Only by experimentation and innovation, by struggling away from what we had, can we hope to work out something better.

Walter W. Pettit of New York, recently associated with the state TERA, stressed the more permanent aspects of a city relief program, pointing out that work relief demands more imagination than it has yet received if the morale of the workers is not to suffer. Decentralization of relief authority is, he believes, essential to a city relief program.

Mary Irene Atkinson of Columbus, Ohio, took her listeners into the country, dogwood in bloom, the spice of pine in the air, to the home of a back-country farm family. Through the vignette of this family she pictured the ravages of unemploy-

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ment through the countryside, little known because out of sight. Standards of personnel in rural areas have been so low, she said, that the people have become conditioned against social work through their experience with those whom they regard as social workers. Welfare services in rural areas must be indigenous, with participation and integration—those noble successors to cooperation and coordination—as the corner-stones of future programs.

Coming in still closer to the administration of relief, another section meeting, led by Wilfred Reynolds of Chicago, considered special treatment for special groups, choosing out of many the Negro, the alien and the unattached woman, who have this at least in common, that broadside relief breaks down badly for all three. Forrester B. Washington, director of Negro work of the FERA, spoke for his own people. Federal relief, he said, is being exploited by employers who, instead of carrying Negroes side by side with whites on the payroll through slack periods, are dumping them on the relief agencies out of all proportion to their numbers in the population. The advances made by Negroes in the past seventy years are being wiped out and they are being thrust into attitudes of chronic dependency. "They are desperate and are turning to sources of help that are new to us. They change their religion and their politics—deny their race. Socialism and Communism attract them. But everywhere the cards are stacked against them."

Edith Terry Bremer of New York, spoke for the aliens, six million of them, speaking forty different languages, who had come to America in the hope of work and found themselves discriminated against and helpless in the depression. Naturalization is a tedious process, impossible to the illiterate, almost impossible to the poor person at a distance from the cities. Mass repatriation is not as simple as it sounds.

INFORMATION
INFORMATION
REGISTRATION BOOTH. OVER 3600 AND GOING UP.
WILLIAM HODSON, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE AND COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE OF NEW YORK.
UNCLE ALEC JOHNSON, 87 YEARS OF AGE. OLDEST MEMBER NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORKERS.
PROF REXFORD G. TUGWELL OF WASHINGTON DC. ASST SEC. OF AGRICULTURE

IT was a relief to the delegates at this meeting to turn from such large and baffling problems to one relatively compact, —the unattached woman, whose cause was pleaded by Mary Gillette Moon, director of women's work of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission. She traced the emergence of these women from the chimney-corner to the economic firing-line and the thrust back into dependency which the depression has dealt them. Now such a woman clings desperately to the remnant of her independence. Congregate care breaks her spirit. Only the most discriminating case-work service can help her. Fortunately she is counted only by thousands, not by millions, and such care can be given by enlightened relief agencies. A friendly courteous contact is the beginning. Service comes next,—medical and psychiatric treatment, cash relief, temporary help for the well-trained woman, training for girls who have never worked and, for the forty- to fifty-year-olds who have had no training or who have lost their skills, the development of genuine client participation.

The discussion of the Maintenance of Physical and Mental Health presented by Dr. Kendall Emerson of the National Tuberculosis Association, represented the joint conclusion of a committee of ten public-health authorities. Dr. Emerson traced the effect of the depression on both the donors and recipients of health services and counted up losses and gains. We are, he and his associates believe, on the eve of a federal health program which will

> preserve the form of state authority with correlation and unification stimulated through research in the federal service and through the wise use of subsidies in the form of personnel and grants-in-aid. . . . I am inclined to believe that health insurance is the real

answer to our request for a national health plan.

A more specific plan for medical and health care, a "plan designed to meet American needs, to operate under American conditions and to conform with the existing American system of government and society" was offered in the paper prepared for one of the last section meetings by John A. Kingsbury of the Milbank Memorial Fund, New York. Readers of The Survey are already familiar with the essence of this plan (see Survey Graphic, June, page 285). Perhaps it was sympathy for the personal tragedy which called Mr. Kingsbury away at almost the hour for his appearance on the program that dampened the anticipated controversy over this paper. More probably it was the clarity and cogency of his arguments that confounded his critics. Significant certainly was the remark of a Kansas City physician as he left the hall, "I came to scoff. I go away to think."

The discussion of The New and Changing Relations of Local, State and Federal Governments brought out a houseful of public officials from all over the country. In the absence of Louis Brownlow, ill at his Chicago home, Frank Bane, also of Chicago, led the discussion to the conclusion that:

> Three things we surely have learned out of the rapid changes of the past four years: 1. That the field of regulation must be as broad as the field of exploitation. 2. That the area of control must be as wide as the area of crime and disease. 3. That the realm of care, cure and prevention must be as extensive and far-flung as the forces of misery.
>
> We are learning that our federal government must be a service organization; that states must extend their activities and that there are many things which cannot be done by ourselves alone or with the help of our township, county or municipal governments.

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Eduard C. Lindeman

CHOOSE goals which can be realized and acted upon. Too many fine radicals are lost through frustration.

Many of the things now going forward under the NRA are good things.

Help with these whenever and wherever you can. One perfect example is the TVA.

Find a resolution between facts and feeling, action and thought.

Stand behind organized labor whenever and wherever you can.

Here are definite things which you can do. Go home and begin today.

The section on The Problems of Reemployment, led by Shelby M. Harrison of New York, found itself staggered by the succinct figures of Isador Lubin, US commissioner of labor statistics, indicating that "a return to the production of 1929 by the manufacturing and non-manufacturing industries of the country, cannot, in itself absorb more than a half of the existing unemployed." Mr. Lubin examined the various fields of employment and came to the conclusion that the only one in which we can logically, without marked shifts in our living habits, look for expansion of employment is in the professions, in those services of health, education and recreation which do not lend themselves to the regime of private profit. But "expansion cannot be expected without greatly increased expenditures on the part of government. . . . Continually increasing income will have to be taken from the profits of industry and through inheritance taxes for employment in fields where we are today greatly undermanned."

In considering how the stranded unemployed could be adjusted to industry M. R. Trabue of the Bureau of Educational Research, Chapel Hill, N. C., questioned the desirability of "working out effective techniques for the adjustment of human beings to an industry organized solely for the private profit of a few owners." But in any case:

> the most important fact to be recognized is that unemployed persons differ from each other to an enormous extent. They are not a single homogeneous group and their readjustment will not be by any fixed or well defined scheme or organization but by a flexible program.

That the government is not unaware that the unemployed are individual human beings was indicated by W. Frank Persons when he detailed the three research projects on which the US Employment Service, of which he is director, is engaged. The first is an occupational classification by which some 3000 existing job classifications will be placed in related groups; the second a study of occupational standards within those groups, and the third of employment services within specialized industries, such as the bureau for hotel and restaurant employes in Philadelphia.

Discussing The New Leisure and the Field of Social Work, Jesse F. Steiner, professor of sociology at the University of Washington, remarked that Americans still have little idea of what a well-balanced recreational program means and that too many of them "play like they work." He traced the relationship of recreational activities to many of our problems, such as juvenile delinquency, and noted their value in health and the development of personality. His recommendations for dealing constructively with the increasing leisure of the American people called for a doubling of municipal park acreage, provision for year-round play and the development of games which can be played in small space.

The paper of Kenneth L. M. Pray of Philadelphia on The Relative Responsibility of Public and Private Social Work, brought out a gathering of the clans from both wings for a lively and purposeful discussion. This was not by any means a funeral for private social work. Mr. Pray, in a thoughtful and convincing paper, pointed out that government, whatever its activities, has never absorbed or monopolized any single area of social work. In those areas in which it has taken the largest responsibility, delinquency, mental disease and so on, it assumes only a primal obligation with private effort developing parallel with it. Most of these obligations have sprung from a fear motive with "state intervention slow, reluctant, negative and regulative in character rather than positive or expansive." Mr. Pray believes that any assignment of public and private responsibility by areas is arbitrary and cannot safely or wisely be undertaken. He sees for the future little change from the present, that is, from the maintenance of private services probably paralleling public services, with experimentation in both fields and a constant exchange of experience and constructive criticism on a professional level. Areas of cooperation and supplementation of public and private service may be marked out, but not areas of responsibility.

LAY participation in social work, in which it is said Kansas City is especially fortunate, had a section meeting to itself with a large and interested audience to hear the three speakers: Mrs. John G. Pratt of New Orleans, president of the Association of Junior Leagues of America; Virginia Howlett of Milwaukee, and Hertha Kraus of the Family Welfare Association of America. Mrs. Pratt, speaking for the volunteer, said that the new relationship engendered by the events of the past few years had given to lay workers "an ever deepening appreciation of the objectives of social work, its fundamental philosophy and the skill and capacities demanded of its professional leadership. The need for impersonal, objective thinking and for intelligent coordinated planning is an obligation which must be accepted by the layman."

Speaking for the private social agency Miss Howlett concluded that "Regardless of our professional skills and understanding, social workers are lost unless that understanding has reached beyond our clientele and has taken in our community as well. We shall not be financed unless some one knows what we are doing and believes in it. We cannot operate in a vacuum."

Out of her German experience as a public welfare official and out of her observations of the use of volunteers by public agencies in this country Miss Kraus was of the opinion that: "Public agencies may consider the development of volunteer service important for three reasons: 1. To achieve the highest standard of service in a truly economical way. 2. To organize continuous interpretation and safeguard community support. 3. To help develop a feeling of community responsibility and social approach beyond the immediate necessities of organized social work."

The Contribution of Social Work to Social Justice brought a galaxy of three papers each one a notable contribution. They were, What is Social Justice? by Paul H. Douglas, economist of the University of Chicago; Social Insurance, by Mollie Ray Carroll of the University of Chicago Settlement, and Social Legislation, by Prof. Joseph P. Chamberlain of Columbia

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University. By the active conference grapevine route the word had passed that Professor Douglas' paper would be in the field of interest of that wing of the delegates which was eager for expression of its position but could find no other badge than the red "buddy" poppies offered on the streets for the veterans' funds. Anyway he had a large and attentive audience which followed enthusiastically his discussion of the eight points of "a new Peoples' Bill of Rights for the United States." These principles or rights of man he listed as: The right to be treated as an end, to be well born, to health, to knowledge, to relative security, to more even distribution of wealth and income, to more even distribution of power, to privacy and differentiation.

The discussion was lively, with more than one discussant taking the floor to, as Miss van Kleeck said, "make speeches at the speaker." Called on to give his opinion of what road of political action social workers should follow, Harry L. Lurie of New York, who was presiding, advised them to become better educated politically. "At present we have only a small contribution to make. Before becoming very convinced of the brand of political action to adopt we need group study and discussion." Professor Douglas gave as his last word the hope that social workers "would become energized in pursuit of their ideals."

Miss Carroll disclaimed the uncritical acceptance of social insurance as a solution for all types of insecurity. Contributory insurance is based upon a wage system and it is a mistake to suppose that it

> will meet the problems of any but a proportion of the most favored of the wage-earning groups. There would still be a large number to be cared for by other means. For these we see no other provision than some form of relief whatever we may name it. . . . What we really want is dignified provision for all forms of human need administered in such a manner as to preserve human dignity even in the most abject cases. . . . That universal provision is possible our present technological development gives ample promise,—provided we do not continue to produce far less than we are capable of doing by our stupid acceptance of idle factories, farms and men.

The certainty of a greater interference by government in the activities of individuals in the social area and an increase in the regulation within that area was predicted by Professor Chamberlain: "Thus the problem of social legislation involves not only statute-making but also the rule-making activity of the administration." He traced the course of social legislation over the past quarter-century, with the turns that have occurred in public opinion, recalled the bitter hostility that every advance has encountered and concluded that:

> Only when based on an enlightened and convinced public opinion can social reforms be built up through legislation and through an administration which reaches into the private affairs of the people. . . . The legislation of the period through which we are passing is, naturally, largely influenced by the urgent need for relief,—relief of business enterprises, of debtors and of unemployment. All of this has affected any plans for long-term improvement in our situation. But the inevitable confusions have re-emphasized the fact that legislation is worthless without fearless and efficient administration. I am here led to the importance of thoughtful consideration of the value of preserving the state administrative system in social legislation, although we may turn to federal standards to improve the laws which the states will administer. The supervision of federal authorities will be successful only if it is little used and it will be most successful when it is not used at all.

Although Mary van Kleeck's paper The Common Goals of Labor and Social Work fell into a section meeting on the last day of the Conference, she was greeted by a capacity audience in the largest available auditorium. In this paper, which The Survey regrets it can merely mention here, she deplored the pessimism that gives to the nation "a counsel of despair," pointed out the identity of the constructive aims of social work with the purposes of the organized workers and warned that any program for relief and social planning proposed by spokesmen for the New Deal "is defeated from the outset in an unplanned economic system." Her final statement of her position, brought out in the discussion that followed her address, and her specific advice to social workers, will be found above.

Mary van Kleeck

IN REPLY to the question, from the floor, "You negate both Fascism and Communism. You offer us generalities. What, specifically, can we take back to our communities?

I *do* negate Fascism, which is the use of power to maintain the status quo. I do *not* negate the collectivism which is the aim of Communism. I disclaim any power to bring this whole group to a point where all its thinking and all its conclusions would be clear. . . . I offer this specific suggestion: Work with your brains as you have never worked before. . . . Get in touch with immediate situations in your communities. Possibly you will find help among the most radical of your people—the ones with whom you would rather not be identified. And do not expect to get it out of the lecture.

WHILE the constellations of the general sessions and the sections swung across the conference firmament, the twelve divisions, with some bright particular stars of their own, went on their steady, enlightening way, exploring and defining their respective fields, and evaluating the findings of new research and experimentation. In many a relatively obscure program were tucked away stimulating proposals and adventurous thinking which are bound to make themselves felt in the whole range of social work. Here too was evident a rising impatience with restricting techniques, with meeting after meeting polarized toward philosophy, aims and objectives. These meetings were the swan-song of the old divisional organization. What the new conference set-up will offer in their place to assure opportunity for the close-in discussion of common problems remains to be seen. Certainly these groups have developed a quality of concrete thinking that should not be dispersed into generalities.

Most of the sessions of the Division on Children, Lawrence C. Cole, Cleveland, chairman, were held jointly with other divisions, or were group discussions of various aspects of child care. But a notable high spot was the meeting on Community Responsibility Toward the Youth of Today. Weighing the opportunities offered to boys and girls in the United States, Lea B. Taylor of Chicago Commons, found them sadly lacking. The security of the home has been shaken or wholly destroyed; education no longer holds the hope of leading to a paying job; the steadying influence of a job is lost because there are no jobs; commercial recreation still flourishes while public recreation languishes for lack of leadership. The influence of bad political environment is constant. Answering the question, what can social workers do to help youth get a start, Miss Taylor urged that they unite in working for better physical environment in homes and communities, better management

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Harry L. Hopkins

Future Public Welfare

PENSIONS. The time will come when we will protect old people with old-age pensions. I think that a pension for a widow who is in need is essential. The pensions will be on the basis of need and will be administered by county welfare agencies.

Public Health. The responsibility for public health lies with the state. The greatest fear that harasses the American family is that some member will become severely ill, incurring bills beyond the family's means to pay. If we are going to protect adequately the great mass of American people, it can only be done through compulsory health insurance.

Unemployment. We must have an American plan in unemployment insurance. There should be a substantial cash payment for eight to sixteen weeks—no more. We must have a system of labor exchanges second to none. We must give a dignified method of living and an opportunity to work. We would have to have a public-works program to do things outside of competition with the economic system, things beneficial to the community. If no industrial job could be found in six months to a year, a man on public works would have to give way and accept direct relief.

Use of Lands. This business of controlled crops by no means solves the farm problem; it is but a temporary expedient. The slums of large cities are nothing to the slums of American farms. Why shouldn't they [the farmers] have electricity and bathrooms? I can see hundreds of thousands of people living on small plots of land, with good schools nearby, supported partly by public work.

of public facilities and more self-respecting standards of relief. With the disappointments and bafflements of youth today in the United States it is easy to understand, she said, "how the regimentation of the life of young people in Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, both of which give youth outlets for their energies and ambitions, have gained support."

The Division on Delinquents and Corrections, William J. Ellis, New Jersey, chairman, was likewise deeply concerned with the problems of youth. It heard Dr. Clifford R. Shaw of the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, detail the studies in twenty cities of definite crime areas and explain the details of setting up a laboratory for such research. The study of hundreds of cases, said Dr. Shaw, clearly indicated that "the unsupervised play group is the medium through which a large proportion of delinquents are initiated and through which delinquency is transmitted from older to younger generations." The same meeting heard Dr. J. S. Plant of the Essex County Juvenile Clinic, New Jersey, charge that "Society is not really interested in the prevention of delinquency else it would have treated more intelligently the poverty, bad housing, broken homes and school retardation that we know bears some relation to it."

AT another meeting of this division Sanford Bates, director of the US Bureau of Prisons, answered the charge that prisoners should not work while honest men are without jobs with the cogent comment that, "If virtue and probity were prerequisites to the right to labor, many of us would be sitting around doing nothing." The right of prisoners to work, and the social wisdom of affording them work needed no defense in this meeting and Mr. Bates went on quickly to recent changes in the operation of prison industries and the adoption of a prison compact, accepted by thirty states, and the appointment of a code authority of six prison men and representatives of labor, employers and consumers.

The Division on Health, Virginia R. Wing, Cleveland, chairman, turned its attention, chiefly in joint sessions with other groups, to questions of organization of better medical care, industrial health and the prevention and control of syphilis among Negroes. On the last topic Dr. Edward Perry of Kansas City marshaled impressive statistical comparisons showing that "the high prevalence of syphilis among Negroes is due to ignorance and poverty rather than to race." In the matter of industrial health Fred M. Wilcox, of the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, recently chairman of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, charged that all our compensation laws regarding industrial diseases are "messy and inefficient," characterized by "a miserable lack of human concern," and urged as the first duty of groups concerned with the health of people that they press for a new deal in those states which refuse to meet their obligations. The views of Michael Davis of the Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, on the organization of medical care are well known to Survey readers.

The Division on the Family, Edward D. Lynde, Family Welfare Association of America, chairman, spread its attention over current problems but did not overlook the deeper fundamental relationships behind. On one day no less than ten discussion groups were engaged with the implications of case work in various situations. At an early meeting of this division Clara Paul Paige, of the Cook County, Ill., Bureau of Public Welfare, spoke of the changing clientele in relief loads and urged that "these clients with real powers of self-help be kept moving in their own behalf in order to maintain their self-direction and resourcefulness." Working with clients in groups is another device now employed as a conscious technique of treatment which "we have been forced to use because of sheer volume of work but in which we may be finding a procedure more effective than some of our old established methods."

The Division on Industrial and Economic Problems, Mary Anderson, US Women's Bureau, chairman, did not leap into the arena of conference controversy until late in the week. At its first session on Work, Not Charity, Aubrey Williams of the FERA told the story of the CWA and classified its critics as "conservatives, methodologists and regretters." W. Frank Persons, director of the US Employment Service, gave figures of its registration and placement and cautioned that while planning and certain central services would come from Washington the real job must be done by the people in the communities, particularly by the 18,000 local people who man the various offices.

This division hit probably an all-time high in its session on The Effect of the NRA Program on the Workers held jointly with the Family Division and the Church Conference on Social Work. Here the Rev. Francis J. Haas, of the National Labor Board, whose paper was read by the Rev. Frederick Siedenburg, was posed against Miss van Kleeck, bright comet of the conference. The NRA, said Father Haas, is the instrument "to equalize bargaining power and thereby obtain for labor its rightful share of the national income." He made a temperate defense of the administration, was grateful that unemployment had been "abated" and that wage-earners had made some gains "which would probably be retained and increased." He summarized the status quo as a "happy beginning toward a final solution."

But the NRA is not like that, said Miss van Kleeck. Its

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net effect is to buttress the industrialists' control and to reduce the workers' standard of living. Its effect upon the workers' struggle for security has been to raise high hopes followed by bitter disappointment. The minimum-wage provision has tended to standardize wages at a hand-to-mouth level, the company union to bolster a fascism developing within the framework of the New Deal: "The struggle which emerges out of the main trends of the NRA toward strengthening big business is a struggle of all workers against the old economic system and for a new social order. It is not merely a dispute between workers and employers." That new social order, Miss van Kleeck holds, means control of basic industries, the sources of economic production, by the people themselves through government, an order in which "chaotic private production control" is supplanted by public and social control.

The Division on Neighborhood and Community Life, Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, St. Louis, chairman, made an honest effort to discover just what is happening to local communities, an examination of changing relationships in community services, and a discussion of The Challenge of the New Leisure. This last topic was summed up by Mollie Ray Carroll of Chicago when she said:

> Not until we have robbed idleness of its present devastating accompaniment of want will it be transmuted into leisure and become a productive process for the individual. For leisure is only creative when the individual is free to follow his own bent untrammeled by fears and uncertainties and uninterrupted by the constant search for work.

IN urban community organization, R. Clyde White of Indiana University finds a trend toward differentiation of function and not merely a compromise on a division of labor:

> It now seems certain that services which a majority of the community want rendered will be provided by public agencies while services which only a minority recognizes as important will be provided by private agencies. In general terms the private agency will represent an interest community supported by a selected group, while the public agency will represent the geographical community, supported by taxes.

In rural communities Prof. Walter A. Terpenning of Kalamazoo, Mich., finds discontent and suffering still largely unorganized. Farm and small-town communities are joining hands in meeting their economic stresses and voicing their political demands, but the sustained capacity of rural people to bring the organized impact of their demands upon other groups is still not great.

The Division on Mental Hygiene, Dr. H. E. Chamberlain, University of Chicago, chairman, had a challenging program which cannot, in this abbreviated report, have the consideration it deserves. Here delegates heard the warning of Dr. Karen Horney of the Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago, against their use of psychoanalytic methods. Even if applied by competent and well-trained people the contacts in case-work treatment are too short and too few to affect fundamental neurotic attitudes, which, she emphasized, were in adults a matter of structural development, to be changed, if at all, only by thorough-going psychoanalysis. The most fruitful field for independent work by the psychiatric case worker is in dealing with superficial aspects of conflict situations—by influencing the environment.

At this same session Dr. James S. Plant of the Essex County Juvenile Clinic, New Jersey, discussing The Individual in a Changing Social Order, urged that children be prepared for change as change, even though we are unable to predict what these changes will be. They must learn to depend more on their own resources and less on outside stimuli. Dr. Plant sees great danger in the attempt to organize and regiment so completely the child's recreation and leisure time, and he sees social work as a great offender in this direction. There is accumulating evidence, he believes, that the society of the immediate future will be an "individual center culture" in which the development of personality for its own sake will be the motivating force. If this is true we need to know more about how personality is developed and we can study this best at its point of social break-down—delinquency. The behavior of the delinquent shows where society has failed to give the developing personality the nourishment it required. Those whom we have pitied or feared—the delinquents—we shall later learn to follow, as educators have followed the leading of truants in remodelling the ancient school system.

The Division on Organization of Social Forces, Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis, chairman, gave a good share of its attention to the reorganization of local social-work programs. Rowland Haynes, director of relief for Nebraska, presented the point of view of the public agency and Pierce Atwater of the St. Paul Community Chest that of the private agency. While differing in approaches they were, it seemed, substantially agreed that we are probably going into an era of public control of welfare activities but that for many years it will be far from complete. Mr. Atwater believes that with private fortunes shrinking we must develop what he called "limited subsidies" to help maintain valuable services—encourage the

Rexford G. Tugwell

I WOULD see you enlisted as soldiers not in a new cause but in an old one. I would ask your loyalty not to a new faith but to an old one which for awhile has been lost to sight. This administration is struggling to return to a lost democracy; it is trying to do it through a discipline of groups which oppress the individual. We stand face to face today with a clear choice and all of us have to take sides. Either we are to have a closed system or an open one. Either we are to give people access to income which they have earned as a right or we are to give them pittances as charity. Either we are to permit industry to manage its affairs so that workers and farmers suffer continual small disadvantages and periodic great ones; or we are going to see to it that industry is so managed as to provide continuous employment for all and to distribute purchasing power which will enable the people to buy its goods. . . .

The most you can do for people is to discipline the institutions and forces which are inimical to the individual and so to provide freedom for action. You cannot forever go on providing subsistence for the idle at government expense. This will never be more than subsistence and it will eventually kill the thing we are trying to foster. . . .

A free man on his feet presented with opportunity to work for himself and for those for whom he is responsible will rise to the occasion well enough. . . . The industrial system has been turned into an autocracy which was well on the way to killing this impulse in men. It must be shown that this cannot be tolerated. This is where our duty lies; the rescue of men from oppression. If we can do this, our present rescue work will become unnecessary. As social workers this is where your ambitions should lie no matter how seriously you take your immediate work of binding up wounds.

The challenge is an open one to our society. The opportunity is great. The time is now.

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group-payment plan for hospitals, for instance, subsidize recreation by starting the use of school plants for that purpose, push young peoples' organizations that need no institutional equipment.

In another significant session of this division Ewan Clague of the Community Council, Philadelphia, expressed the opinion that social research should be directed toward policy-forming rather than toward methods of administration. It should be practical and purposeful, with results in reasonably near view and interpreted in terms understandable by anyone who can read the English language. Moreover it should be undertaken in response to a demand by a responsible group prepared to translate its findings into action.

The Division on the Administration of Public Social Work, Margaret Reeves, State Bureau of Child Welfare, New Mexico, chairman, held all its meeting in conjunction with the American Public Welfare Association. The antiquated old public-welfare laws came in for a good trouncing at the competent hands of Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckenridge of the University of Chicago. "Clean house," was their advice: "We must move in the direction of success, and everything points toward the revision of public welfare laws. Five years ago we couldn't get a glimmer of public interest, but now the people are ready. And don't be satisfied with revision. That only brings you up against Legislative Bureaus which want to amend acts. Pull up these old laws by the roots, and have new laws, with new names."

IN another meeting of this division, crowded to the doors, the qualifications and methods of selection of social-service personnel were discussed by half a dozen persons all of whom had current experience in choosing large staffs. But, as Dr. Ellen C. Potter of New Jersey, pointed out "the public has not yet divested itself of the idea that any kind-hearted person can do social work," and added that while there are only about 8000 persons in the United States qualified by training and experience to be members of the AASW there are in fact close to 32,000 actually engaged in the administration of relief in jobs which only a few years ago were held as calling for the highest qualifications. Sound training must, it was agreed, become an increasingly important function of every public welfare body.

The Division on The Immigrant, Florence G. Cassidy, National Institute of Immigrant Welfare, New York, chairman, discussed among other things the emotional conflict of the second generation and social justice for the immigrant. A high spot was the dinner held jointly with the Conference on Immigration Policy, at which Col. Daniel W. MacCormack, US commissioner of immigration and naturalization, told of a study, just completed of the operation of the immigration laws and of the plans that are under way to remedy the imposition of necessary hardships upon individuals. "Laws which deal directly with human beings should leave room for humane considerations."

The Division on Professional Standards and Education, Harry L. Lurie, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, New York, chairman, was full of good red meat. Here was presented Miss van Kleeck's paper on Our Illusions Regarding Government (see page 190) and here was heard the warning of Peter Kasius of St. Louis, that social workers are "now face to face with new tests that have more to do with problems of social machinery, administrative authority and fiscal arrangements than with case-work techniques." Here was presented Eduard C. Lindeman's conception of the basic unities of social work which notably enlarged the following he had been accumulating all week, and here was heard Kenneth L. M. Pray's scholarly discussion of the distinguishing characteristics of competence in professional social work upon which the public may safely rely.

A new note was brought into the discussion of the problems of professional organization by Joseph Levy of the Jewish Home Finding Society, Chicago, who spoke for "a small but growing number of social workers who are studying their own role and their relation to their boards and to the government." They find, said Mr. Levy, no guidance out of the confusion of the times in the official leadership of social work. "They are dissatisfied with the smug complacency of the profession and with its timid approach to social problems." Mr. Levy sketched in the three forms of organization that have emerged from "the ferment of discontent:" 1. Practitioner groups within the AASW, workers of neither administrative nor executive rank who would, he prophesied "gravitate naturally toward the Discussion Clubs and the protective organizations which offer a wider opportunity for expression." 2. Social Workers Discussion Clubs, which call "the attention of the social workers to the obvious fact that they are also workers, members of the common army of labor, who benefit society and themselves insofar as they participate in the common fight against hunger, war and exploitation." 3. Protective organizations with the primary aim of advancing the economic welfare of their members.

Monsignor Robert F. Keegan

WE NEED sane optimism and a dynamic view of social conditions if we really are to see social work on the march. Social work is in reality the cause of human welfare. It is not a sporadic foray into the field of social evils. It is a tremendous and continuing cause . . . born of a spirit that demands justice and attacks unfair social conditions. . . .

The standards of social work have not been sacrificed under the pressure of providing relief. We have held fast to the essential principle of our cause and have persuaded the public to adopt them. It may well be that some future historian seeking the social philosophy of these days will record that America had been taught so to treasure her men and her families that she was willing to mortgage the future for their preservation. . . .

We must build up a new economic structure based on the solid foundation of social justice or the structure that will rise on the ruins of this depression will but crash again when it is overburdened with the fruits of selfishness and economic greed. . . . This conference, notable for the fearless, forthright character of its thinking, has given evidence that its members no longer restrict their vision entirely to the needs of the individual. We seem definitely to have realized that many of the social ills of our time are created by an economic system which is archaic. . . .

Say what you will, the social consciousness of America is attuned to social reform. The rank and file are seeking one thing desperately—security. They have a right to a security of life, a right to work, to build their own homes, to rear their children in a reasonable measure of future security. . . . No one plan, no many-pointed program, no panacea will give them the security they need. But a united nation dedicated to social justice and directing all its forces toward the common good, can move forward step by step toward a more equitable distribution of ownership and a happier life for the plain people of the land. . . .

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The new approach of all these groups, but particularly the last begins, said Mr. Levy,

with the recognition that the social worker is in an employe relationship with the board of trustees or the state legislature as the case may be. Out of the divergence of employe-employer interests arises a clash which has always been soft-pedalled because of the fiction that a community of interests is essential for the effective functioning of social work. The new approach brings the clash out into the open, accepts it for what it is and deals with it realistically. . . .

Collective action necessarily finds its medium in organization, which alone makes possible that bargaining relationship with the board which in social work as in other professions has proved a more effective technic for securing the economic welfare of the social worker than has "public opinion," the good will of the board or the good intentions of the executive.

Organizational struggles have sharpened for social work employes their consciousness of themselves as individuals who in addition to certain professional interests have in common with all workers a justifiable concern for the future of the producing class of our society. Insofar as they share this point of view, protective organizations may properly be regarded as another addition to the growing number of unions in this country and their membership as an articulate unit in the large army of labor in its fight for another society. The social worker has a strategic role in the emerging open alliance between big industry and the state. His will be the task to operate that vast relief machinery which stands between the unemployed dissatisfied worker and revolt. He will soon be faced with the necessity of defining his loyalties.

The division on Educational Publicity, Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work, chairman, was carried along on a constantly rising wave of enthusiasm by the highly successful idea of its leader to use the meetings as a demonstration of techniques in the use of what he called "the living word" in education. Thus he put the same people through the forms of a panel, a discussion group and a forum, drawing the topics out of the issues burning bright at that very moment in the conference, (*Continued on page* 207)

The President's Position

By WILLIAM HODSON

President of the Conference; Commissioner of Public Welfare, New York City

THE members of this conference have been asked, by one of its distinguished members, to repudiate the present national administration and its relief program. The serious defects and inadequacies of relief measures have been pointed out, but the challenge has gone far beyond the administration of relief. It has been said that government as we now know it is essentially dominated by the strongest economic power and has become the instrument to serve the purposes of the groups possessing that power, thus placing property rights above human rights. It has been said that social workers are merely the handmaidens of the politicians and governmental officials in defending our existing political institutions. We are asked to join forces with the workers and to throw the weight of whatever influence we may have on the side of the workers in the struggle for control of government.

This challenge, so directly and cogently stated, is supported by such a wealth of evidence bearing on human distress due to the breakdown of the existing order of things—evidence familiar to us all—that it demands an answer.

This is not the time or the place to undertake a deliberate discussion of the various points raised. I should like only to suggest certain considerations which are implicit in any analysis of the duty and responsibility of the social worker, both as social worker and as citizen.

What we are seeking is the greatest good for the greatest number. We agree that government exists for men and not men for government. However, there is no easy royal road to widespread human happiness. For centuries we have struggled with the problem and as yet have found no sure and final answer anywhere in the world. Our choice is not between what is clearly for the good of the people and what is clearly bad, because we do not know what will surely produce the happiness and security of people in the mass. Nevertheless, we must strive steadily and persistently toward the common good, and the real issue becomes one of the road we shall travel. By what means can we achieve a better life—a life that takes account not only of food, shelter, clothing, and the necessities of existence, but a creative and spiritual experience?

Three choices are open to us. The first is to go on in the old way, hoping that chance and good fortune will bring us out of our troubles. The American people have, I think, rejected that choice. The second is to modify the existing economic order in such fundamental ways as will serve the well-being of the people as a whole. This, I take it, is the objective of the present national administration. The third is to destroy the present economic and industrial order and to substitute in its place something new and different. There are those who would achieve this result by peaceful means and through orderly process; others who would have it peaceably if possible, but by force if necessary.

Speaking for myself, I am not ready to say that the second course of action, namely, that of building more wisely upon the foundations already laid, or of reconstructing those foundations, has yet been proved a hopeless task. The job is slower and more difficult than many supposed it would be, but there is still time, and human progress has been and always will be achieved through the hardest kind of toil and effort.

But to those who are entirely dissatisfied with this procedure, I would say, what do you propose as an alternative? What do you mean exactly by "joining with the workers?" One real danger in too violent a break with the established order is a fascist regime which has an infinitely greater chance of success in this country than has communism, for example, and what a devastating tragedy for the suffering mass of American people a fascist government would be.

But apart from this very real possibility, what is the plan and where is the leadership for an entirely new order of society? By what method will you secure its adoption, and what assurance have you that it will not result in chaos so complete as to plunge the country and its people into the depths of despair and suffering from which a generation will not emerge?

In my judgment, the American people are not yet ready to flee from the dangers they know and recognize to the dangers they know not of. I, for one, am still willing to throw my lot with the present national administration, reserving always the right to differ and to criticize as a friend and not as an enemy.

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Our Illusions Regarding Government

By MARY VAN KLEECK
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THE past five years have brought social workers face to face with two major issues—the economic system and the political system. The need for relief on a mounting scale has been the symptom of the crisis in industry and agriculture, which have been unable to maintain employment and have steadily cut the earnings of those who still remain employed. To the political system, social workers have turned as the source of funds needed for the relief which private social agencies can no longer provide. In the recent Conference on Governmental Objectives for Social Work under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers, the declaration was made in the recommendations that "government is the only effective instrument for the social use of our national wealth." With this as a cornerstone, the Conference then committed itself to this program:

> We believe that this is the time for the creation of a permanent, comprehensive, well coordinated and adequate system of welfare services, so conceived as to assure ourselves, as a people, against the common hazards of our economic and social life, such as are inherent in unemployment, old age, widowhood, sickness or other factors which interfere with the normal processes of self-maintenance.

Social workers thus stand committed to a program involving a definite concept of confidence in government as a social agency able to function effectively for such a program in the present economic system. Moreover, such a commitment is not even qualified as one of "principle." The present administration of welfare services by the federal government was endorsed by the Conference in these words:

> The Conference in addressing itself to the problems of governmental objectives for social work wishes to pay tribute to Congress and to the federal administration for recognizing its obligation to meet the needs of people in this emergency on a national basis, for thus developing for the first time a national system of aid to families and individuals, for special recognition of federal responsibility for service to transients and for bringing unemployment relief up to a more nearly adequate level.

Not only is this high tribute paid to Congress and to the present administration, but social work identifies itself completely with the methods followed, in these words:

> In carrying out this program, we believe the best traditions and experience of social work have been utilized.

Not wishing to limit its praise to the relief program, the Conference included the whole economic and relief set-up of the present emergency, declaring:

> The Conference more especially pays tribute to the courageous and ingenious social thinking represented by such programs as the NRA, the NRS, FERA, the CCC and the CWA.

Thus through this Conference the professional association of social workers has committed itself to identification with the present administration, to endorsement of what it supposes its principles to be, and to hope for an adequate program of social work under government auspices. This Division of Professional Standards and Education, particularly in a session jointly arranged with the American Association of Social Workers, is the proper occasion to examine the validity of this position. It is a departure from the past in which the dominant type of American social work, particularly in those phases concerned with relief, has tended to be private and voluntary rather than governmental. This in itself makes desirable an examination of the fundamentals of this shift. But the really important question is not whether social work is changing its base from private to governmental sources, but whether this reliance upon government commits social workers to the preservation of the status quo and separates them from their clients, leading them into the position of defense of the politicians in their effort to protect political institutions against the strain put upon them by the failures of industry to maintain employment, and by the industrial policy which seeks to sustain profits at the expense of standards of living.

May I suggest that in the past those who have advocated governmental services rather than private charity have tended to assume the mantle of radicalism? Is, then, the present endorsement of government in general, and the present administration in particular, a victory for radicalism among social workers, or is it a swing to reaction which will identify social workers with industrialists and political leaders in the maintenance of economic privilege and in resistance to the workers' struggle for the ascendancy of human rights over property rights in America?

May I suggest at the outset two theories of government, and then examine them in the light of the relief program, judged in its economic aspects rather than from the point of view of the technique of social work?

The theory which has largely dominated the political programs of social work is that government stands above conflicting interests and in a democracy can be brought, by majority vote, to decide between those conflicts and compel standards and policies which are in the public interest. The program advanced by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in Great Britain, based upon the idea of a national minimum in the industrial field, is derived from the principle that a law can be passed and administered which will more or less equalize the inequalities in the present distribution of wealth and establish a basis below which wages and other conditions of employment affecting the standards of living of the working class are not allowed to fall.

Social workers in America have played with this kind of a national minimum standard in much less comprehensive form than the British program. A group in the Industrial Division of the National Conference in Cleveland in 1912 put forward a legislative program which became part of the platform of the Progressive Party. The reasons for failure to achieve the program were discussed twelve years later, in 1924, at the National Conference in Toronto; and at Philadelphia in 1932 an analysis was made of these failures.

This is not the place to discuss this subject. But briefly it should be recalled that, though the Progressive Party adopted the social workers' program as its own, in general social workers as a group have not committed themselves to any party. Their attitude in the past has been essentially nonpartisan. Seeing the end results of evils in the industrial system, certain branches of social work have tended to concentrate their techniques of adjustment within the prevailing environment; while others have sponsored a somewhat piecemeal reform program, hopeful of its equal chance for incorporation in the platform of any party, all based upon the idea that once a law

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could be secured it would become a law for the whole people, administered by a government representing the people.

Another theory of government is tenable and should at least be considered in the light of American experience; for if it is true, it raises danger signals of momentous importance in the decisions of social workers and their program for the United States today. This theory is that government essentially is dominated by the strongest economic power and becomes the instrument to serve the purposes of the groups possessing that power. To put this in terms familiar in American discussions, government tends to protect property rights rather than human rights. A legislative proposal which lays burdens upon property—such as workmen's compensation, reduction of hours of work, minimum wage, or unemployment insurance—is resisted at every point in the effort to enact it into law. This needs no elaboration. The experience of social workers is too clear.

If such a law is enacted, its administration is constantly in jeopardy through the pressure of property interests. Courts may declare it unconstitutional; the legislature may refuse proper appropriations; administrators may be bought; or at best the law may be merely a concession designed to prevent more far-reaching demands by the workers.

Such a theory of government is derived from a prior analysis of the interests of the community. If all groups in the community have common interests, then the government which administers those interests will have united support. If, however, there be conflicts of interest between groups in the community, and if those conflicts relate to the functions of government, then the community is necessarily a house divided against itself. The government will then represent the strongest power and will develop instruments of defense of that power—army, navy, militia and police.

The basic conflict of interest between labor and capital is too clear to need proof here. The strikes of the past year demonstrate it as an immediate, contemporary problem. Our illusions regarding government arise out of a refusal to recognize these conflicts. They assume that the government is above the struggle and that if social workers can win the government to their program they will have done their part in establishing that elusive thing called social justice. The test of whether these are illusions is now being made before our eyes, and the unfolding of the relief program is the illustration to be used here.

If we examine the relief program from the point of view of the second theory of government—government controlled in the interest of the strongest economic power and prevented from functioning in the public interest by the conflicts arising in the economic field—we are obliged to recognize three conflicting interests in any effort to use government as (in the words of the Washington conference of social workers) "the only effective instrument for the social use of our national wealth." Capital, wishing to maintain the profits and the share of wealth claimed by private owners, resists taxation and not only demands curtailment of social services in the government, but in manifold ways demands the suppression of the workers' struggle. The workers, on the other hand, contending for a living, demand the right to organize and bargain collectively for the protection of the wage scale. The political administration, wishing to maintain itself in power, must judge accurately where its power lies. It cannot control production or distribution of wealth. It must, on the contrary, meet the demands laid upon it to protect property. It wishes, however, to retain the votes of the workers, and a clever politician knows that political institutions must be protected against the rising discontent of the unemployed and the poorly paid workers. The terms of the problem of political leadership may be compared to the engineer's problem of resistance to strains. The political question is, How far must government yield to the demand for change in the status quo in order to maintain the status quo?

The relief program is the thermometer representing the political leadership's diagnosis of the effectiveness of the demands of those who need relief. Social workers happen to belong to the profession which is charged with the task of administering relief. Social workers therefore are drawn into the maneuvers to maintain status and power in the three-cornered conflict of interest between those who own and control the economic system; the workers, who are claiming their right to a livelihood in an age of plentiful production; and the government, which has always most closely identified itself with property rights.

I am not unmindful that the American Association of Social Workers in 1931, moved from its professional isolation, busy with the maintenance of professional standards, educational requirements and the like, took up the problems of relief, appointed a Commission on Unemployment and took an active part in organizing the Senate hearings on unemployment relief in December of that year. Those hearings are in themselves evidence that social workers were ready to fulfil the function of informing the community of the needs of their clients. But if one accepts the fact that we may have illusions regarding government, one may say with some cynicism that the social workers were helping the politicians to see just how far it was necessary to go in yielding to the demands of the needy in order to protect both the political and the economic status quo.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze the history of the relief program. I merely wish to refer to what I regard as the two significant points in that program in the past year, namely, the inauguration of the Civil Works Administration and its abandonment.

On November 15, 1933, President Roosevelt, addressing the Civil Works Conference delegates, declared that during the preceding eight months the United States had had a larger proportion of unemployed than any other country, and that in the plan for the winter, recognizing how many were still unemployed, aid would be extended to the many who were "too proud to go and ask for relief." "We want to help that type of American family," said the President.

A little more than three months later, on February 28, the President made public a new unemployment program, demobilizing Civil Works, declaring that the ordinary system of relief is "repugnant to American ideals of individual self-reliance" (forgetting those who in November were to be sought out because they were "too proud to go and ask for relief") and setting up a work program which "will be confined to those needy unemployed who can give adequate return for the unemployment benefits which they receive."

The program was designed to meet "the peculiar needs" of three groups, pictured in The New York Times of April 1 as the "stranded area," the "city breadline" and the "poverty farm." This was the journalistic translation of the President's classification into

1. Distressed families in rural areas.

2. Those composing "stranded populations," i.e., living in single-industry communities in which there is no hope of future re-employment, such as miners in worked-out fields.

3. The unemployed in large cities.

As an economist in social work I would comment here not upon the principles of relief embodied in these classifications, but rather upon the economic philosophy. Clearly the Presi-

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dent is accepting the existence of these three groups as problems of relief instead of as problems for thoroughgoing change in the economic system which has produced them. "Distressed families in rural areas" call for an agricultural program more fundamental and more sound than the destruction of crops. "Stranded populations" are evidences of the failures of industry, and it is incumbent upon us to demand that the government recognize that the miners in need of relief are not stupid, immobile individuals who remain "in worked-out fields," but active, intelligent workmen who happen to be attached to an industry overdeveloped in quest of profits, and they remain near rich veins of coal, in which, however, employment is given on an average of not more than two thirds of the working year, even in prosperous times. The coal industry registers the failures of industry and government alike to manage the economic system in this country, and it is no solution to accept as permanent a status for miners as a "stranded population" for which "there is no hope of future re-employment" in their own industry and to transplant them to "subsistence homesteads" which only tend to increase the difficulties in rural areas.

This lowering of standards of living is the Fascist way out —the efforts of capitalism to maintain itself intact and to utilize for that purpose the institutions of government to prevent the discontent which would otherwise change both the economic system and the political system. The President's proposals for work relief for the needy and for permanent acceptance of the classification of "stranded" for the miners should dispel social workers' illusions regarding the promise for fundamental economic reconstruction under the New Deal.

The President's statement of the new relief plan was made just eleven days after adjournment of the Washington conference where the social workers formulated their "governmental objectives." It is good to know that the recommendations of the conference had gone far beyond this relief program of the administration and had called for adequate cash relief and continuance of a "federal employment project" which should be based on "qualifications for employment and not on need," opposed the program already announced for demobilization and termination of the Civil Works Administration, and committed social workers to a campaign for attainment of the recommendations.

Nevertheless the high tribute paid to Congress and the administration just eleven days before this announcement by the President does not speak well for the social workers' ability to read the signs of the times in economic and political programs. It is my contention that failure to read these signs is due to illusions regarding government, and that these are especially marked in the social workers' acceptance of the economic program of the New Deal. If the social workers had withheld their tribute to the administration and to Congress, it is not impossible that they might have had more weight in their recommendations, and moreover they would have been more free for their campaign.

In other words, the experience would suggest that social workers need more decisive formulations of their purposes and more aggressive action toward their attainment, and for both of these a closer association with the workers' groups than with boards of directors and governmental officials would give that vitality to social purpose which comes out of the genuine experience of life of the underprivileged. These, to be sure, are the clients of social workers, but it is easy to become too professional in one's dealings with clients and to fail to achieve the sense of fellowship which social workers must attain if they are to take part in the struggle for human rights. The delusion that human rights are attainable without struggle, through the processes of government or through the simple administrative decision of a governmental official, is responsible for weak programs and ineffective activities, of which the whole history of social workers' organized relation to federal legislation for relief gives evidence. The culmination is in the most recent declaration of the President, in his message to Congress on May 15, calling for a wholly inadequate appropriation by Congress, with such lack of clarity in lumping together appropriations for public works and for relief as will inevitably lead once more to the danger of appropriating funds for battleships instead of cash relief for the unemployed.

This is not the place to discuss the economic program of the New Deal. But in its bearing upon the relief program of the government this much must be said: The program has been directed toward the loaning of large sums of money to industry, thus protecting as far as possible the claims of property upon the economic system; while on the other hand the government has found no way to distribute purchasing power to the workers. Indeed, the sum set apart in the second section of the NIRA for relief of the unemployed through public works was in large part diverted to a war program in the expenditure of $230,000,000 of the public works fund on the Navy. Speaking at hearings on the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill before the House Committee on Labor on February 12, the representative of the National Unemployment Council, Herbert Benjamin, picturesquely compared relief with loans to industry by referring to "the policy of doling out relief to the unemployed with an eyedropper and to the banker with a steam dredge." It is a pity, by the way, that the conference held under the auspices of the National Unemployment Council early in February in Washington might not have carried its vivid portrayal of needs and of the program of the unemployed for meeting them to the conference of the American Association of Social Workers held a few days later.

A clear method of distributing purchasing power is comprehended in the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, introduced in the House as HR 7598. This bill would cover for the whole period of their unemployment all who are unemployed through no fault of their own; it would pay the average prevailing wages of the locality, or a minimum of $10 a week with $3 additional for each dependent; it would derive funds not from taxes on payrolls but from taxes on higher incomes, inheritances and gifts; and it would put administration into the hands of representatives of the workers themselves.

The Wagner-Lewis Bill, in contrast, which has received the support of the administration and also of the American Association of Social Workers, is not an unemployment insurance bill at all, but a revenue act which would tax payrolls of corporations in the hope that no tax would be collected, since the tax would not be payable if an unemployment insurance law should come into effect in accordance with certain specified standards applied by the secretary of labor, with the basic principle always that the charge for unemployment insurance is a charge upon costs of production. This, in the last analysis, is the kind of tax which on the one hand keeps wages down and on the other hand is passed on to the consumer and thus results in higher prices.

The Wagner-Lewis Bill would not begin collecting taxes until July 1, 1935. The money would not become available until the following year, and then it would merely go into the federal treasury and not to the unemployed. It would be a tax to be remitted as a reward to corporations in states in which in the meantime unemployment insurance laws had been enacted.

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Workers in large numbers of unions included in the American Federation of Labor, as well as independent unions and fraternal societies of various kinds, not only refuse to support but actually oppose the Wagner-Lewis Bill and campaign for the Workers' Bill, which, however, has not received the support of either the administration or of the social workers. This mass movement of support is spreading so widely that it will probably constitute an embarrassing challenge to the officers of the AFL and the other national unions who have undertaken to interpret the demands of their members for unemployment insurance as fulfilled by the Wagner-Lewis Bill and have given it endorsement, William Green even going so far as to usurp the place of the Supreme Court and to declare in advance that the Workers' Bill is "unconstitutional."

The reason for support of the Wagner-Lewis Bill by the committee of the American Association of Social Workers reporting upon it is that it

> might be endorsed for the reason that it appears to be the most immediately effective federal measure to encourage state legislation setting up reserves of insurance for compensation to the unemployed. It is not to be considered as fulfilling the requirements for adequate federal legislation on this subject, but should be supported as an interim measure on the basis that the present temper of the administration and Congress does not promise more comprehensive legislation and that the bill would not be an obstacle toward a more broadly conceived program if the attitude of the administration and Congress were to tend in this direction.

I cite this action of the committee of the AASW not so much because I differ with its faith in the Wagner-Lewis Bill, but because the grounds of its support indicate its attitude toward government and the administration. Apparently social workers are to adopt as legislative technique a careful study of "the present temper of the administration and Congress," instead of working out principles and then finding the way to secure the action necessary to enact them into law.

In another paper in the Conference, on Common Goals of Labor and Social Work, I propose to discuss the form which I believe this action must take in an alliance between social workers and workers in industry. There also I shall describe the program of the Inter-Professional Association for Social Insurance, which takes as its point of departure the joint promotion by professional workers and industrial workers, including farmers, of a program of social insurance presumably conceived with the same objective as was voiced by the Conference on Governmental Objectives for Social Work, calling for a "system of welfare services," but motivated by no such acceptance of government as a hopeful instrument in the present economic system as has been expressed by the social workers.

While using these concrete illustrations of a more or less unconscious acceptance of government, I would prefer to discuss the subject in broader terms, for to me it is of tremendous importance that the whole body of social workers should be clearsighted in this present crucial period. A nonpartisan attitude toward political programs at a time when the issue is drawn as sharply as it is today may turn into essential partisanship, namely, defense of the status quo, and the programs of a previous decade which were intended to effect change can now be turned into obstacles to change. When they are put forward and supported by social workers they may actually delude industrial workers and the general public in a false confidence that welfare services can be devised without change in the economic system.

This is not to say that no immediate steps are to be taken. It is highly important that social workers should regard themselves primarily as serving their clients and indeed sharing with them in the status of workers in American society. It is in the professional organization that we social workers may think ourselves clear of our entanglements with the separate agencies of social service; define our goals, examine the foundations and reach our own clear decisions as to whether capitalism, private ownership and profit-making are to be retained, or whether the resources of this country are to be utilized in a socialized, planned economy for the raising of standards of living and the establishment of security of livelihood of the people.

We should bear in mind the recent terrible experience in Germany. It may be said that the Social Democratic Party in its legislative program came close to the reform program of American social work. Faith in this program diverted the attention of many of the Social Democrats and social workers of Germany from the necessity for change in the fundamental sources of power. Thus the way was paved for a change to a dictatorship supported by the dying capitalism of Germany under the guise of National Socialism, which leaves profit-making unchanged and uses the instrument of government for the maintenance of the economic status quo.

Social workers are accepting important positions in various branches of government in this country. Those of you who believe that that is the way you can best serve must look well to the significance of the mass protests which are disturbing your working hours. Will social workers continue to bear the brunt of these protests against politicians in their alliance with the property interests of the community, or will social workers rather look upon themselves as spokesmen for these protests, refusing to aid in putting up defenses for the status quo against the inevitable and necessary demands of those who suffer?

A clearer view will inevitably lead to some refusals to take governmental positions if these demand, as many do, that social workers in governmental positions will serve as apologists for the government of the day. Outspoken demands must come from the group as a whole, through a new professional alignment which should permeate the professional organization of social workers, the schools of training and the journals. The record so far seems to me to be confused. The New Deal, like the Progressive Party of 1912, has attracted social workers as essentially embodying their program. I plead for a critical review of the record before we commit ourselves to complete faith in a governmental program.

Why did the labor platform of 1912 fail of achievement? Why is the New Deal failing to resist the downward pressure upon standards of living, while giving increased power to monopolies and refusing to support the recognized right of workers to bargain collectively; even going further and positively discouraging strikes?

The reply is that neither the Progressive Party of 1912 nor the New Deal have been grounded in a program of workers' action for raising standards of living, but have been designed to sustain property by credits and to encourage restrictions on production in the interest of maintaining profits. Both have fostered illusions regarding government in the minds of the general public, and the social workers are not helping to dispel these illusions. Both have essentially tended to maintain economic privilege in power, yielding only so much as is necessary to prevent too strong a protest.

In the face of these failures, social workers need alignment with other workers, not drawing their inspiration from the relation of social worker to client, but rather identifying themselves as fellow workers looking toward more action, clearer facing of the issues, and demands which are not tempered to the "temper" of the administration and Congress but to the needs of the working people, whose standards of living should be the primary and indeed the sole concern of all branches of social work.

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FERA

Yesterday—Today—Tomorrow

By C. M. BOOKMAN

THE Federal Emergency Relief Administration organized in May 1933 is the greatest organized effort ever made by this country in times of peace to relieve nationwide distress. If we remember that it was an emergency organization formed in the face of terrible pressure, hurriedly articulated and manned for emergency service, we shall be able to give it that understanding analysis without which we cannot evaluate it or reckon its contribution in a time when immediate, socially effective action was imperative.

The first thing which strikes the student of the history of relief is our continued unpreparedness to cope with the problems raised by each successive depression. Perhaps the weakest point in our whole approach has been our reluctance to face squarely the fact that a degree of economic and social reorganization must precede any solution of the problem of unemployment. The minute we commence to convalesce from depression we begin to forget its lessons. Some encouraging signs serve, however, to lighten the gloom. We have emerged from the era of Citizens' Emergency Relief Committees, with their quasi-political personnel and have banished most of our old picayune and socially indefensible money-raising activities for the unemployed. Breadlines, soup-kitchens and other demoralizing methods of doling out relief have pretty well disappeared. Instead of these puttering, ineffective procedures we have an increasing recognition that relief needs resulting from widespread unemployment caused by economic and social maladjustments, are a public responsibility and should be met by funds supplied by taxation.

The present depression is the first one in which we have seriously attempted to carry out public works on a national scale. A public-works program is distinguished from a work-relief program by the fact that it hires labor in the open market without primary reference to individual need. Attempts to mix public works and work-relief principles in one program have resulted in inefficiency in the prosecution of public works and in throwing more people on to relief rolls. The CWA was a large short-time work program, combining both public works and work relief; while it had many values it had weaknesses inevitable in any mixed program. The Civilian Conservation Camps, Civil Works Service, and work camps for transients are primarily work-relief projects. The concept of giving wages for work instead of granting direct relief, has gained tremendous headway during the present depression, but there has never been time to think out programs in advance and we cannot yet evaluate their results.

A quick review of relief activities during the past five winters will throw some light on the opportunities, as well as the limitations, which faced the FERA when it came into being.

1929–30. The increasing relief load was carried by the regular agencies, public and private.

1930–31. Relief needs having failed to decline during the summer, Citizens' Emergency Committees, state and local, were widely organized. The President's Emergency Committee for Employment, formed in November 1930, functioned as a national adviser and clearing-house. The winter saw a rapid increase of private relief funds, the administration of large public funds by private agencies and a wide extension of work-relief programs.

1931–32. State aid for relief began to appear. Homeless migrants increased in numbers and labor camps, particularly in California, were developed for both migrants and local homeless men. Barter units and various associations for self-help gained attention.

1932–33. The federal government entered into relief through loans to states by the RFC, thus combining community, state and federal effort, but with large amounts of public monies still administered by private agencies.

1933–34. Relief was largely taken over by public agencies with the FERA, established in May 1933, exercising increasing control and in all but eleven states supplying the major part of the funds.

The policy of loans to states by the RFC was probably a necessary first step in bringing the federal government into unemployment relief. The policy was seriously questioned from the outset and under it little progress could be made toward sound and reasonably uniform organization over the entire country. It did, however, establish the fact that the federal government must make large appropriations for unemployment needs and must assume leadership in administration, and that states and local communities must be persuaded or compelled to bear a just share of the responsibility.

In March 1933, four and a half million families representing over eighteen million people, one out of seven of our population, were receiving relief which we knew was wholly inadequate. A real crisis was upon us, and we began to question whether our institutions could survive the pressure of human want and economic insecurity. In this atmosphere the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 was passed.

We can see in this act, carefully as it was drawn, certain vestiges of traditional ideas of local responsibility. With states becoming more and more resourceless and cities on the verge of bankruptcy, the act provided $500 million to meet a billion-dollar need, this on the theory of a financial partnership between the federal government, the states and local communities to supply the balance required. But states were finding it exceedingly difficult to meet their regular expenditures; and in many even if a governor desired to conform with the spirit of the partnership, he was unable to force a reluctant legislature to act; or when it did enact revenue bills, had no assurance that they would produce the amounts estimated.

The FERA, anxious to establish sound principles and to provide reasonably for the needs of the unemployed, promulgated standards for relief that could be carried out if sufficient money were secured from the states and communities. But the states and communities were hesitant to apply these standards and thereby increase the load on state and local tax funds.

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There was and still is a widespread belief that the federal government would meet all unemployment needs if it had to.

The FERA had two methods of bringing pressure on the states for adequate financial participation: it could withhold federal money or it could take over the administration of a state's relief program. Both methods were fraught with danger. Under the first the unemployed would suffer while negotiations were going on, and while a state was trying to find a way to raise funds through taxation without levying new taxes. Under the second the chances were that the federal government would have to finance an increasingly large part of the load with a decreasing local responsibility for the prosecution of an adequate program. The FERA did not have enough money to do this on a national scale even if it had been desirable to do so.

The amount of federal funds contributed to general relief in the United States decreased slightly both in percentages and amount from the first to the fourth quarter of 1933. During the first quarter it contributed 58 percent, or $122 million, and in the fourth quarter 56 percent, or $106 million. On the other hand contributions by states increased from $18 million to $46 million, or from 8 percent to 24 percent of the total. The lesser amounts appropriated by local units largely offset this increased state contribution. The amount granted to separate states by the federal government in the final quarter ranged from practically 100 percent for five southern states to a third or less for the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Utah and California.

The federal administrator tried in every way to determine the extent to which a state could and should participate in this program and without hesitation granted a larger percent of federal funds to states with small resources. Some states probably received a percent larger than their deserts because of the unwillingness or inability of their officials to agree upon adequate participation. The question may well be raised whether, in the interest of the unemployed, it might not be better for the federal government to assume a larger financial share in the relief program, under such relationships with states and local communities as to insure more careful administration.

One of the first official acts of the federal administrator was to issue an order that federal funds must be expended by public agencies. In general this revolutionary change, effective August 1, 1933, has been carried through, but the tremendous administrative task of changing the whole structure of unemployment relief with the transfer from private to public care of hundreds of thousands of families, influenced the administrator to permit the use of private agency personnel so long as it was under the control and direction of a public agency. In most sections of the country this permissive ruling was used to strengthen public activities, but in others it served as an excuse to continue, under the letter if not the spirit of the law, the subsidizing of private social work by public funds.

One significant accomplishment of the FERA in 1933 was the initiation and development of a program for transients, a great step away from the limitations of the old local poor laws. From the beginning this program faced local opposition and prejudices against nonresidents. But in spite of obstacles, 261 transient centers and sixty-three transient work camps were, by the end of 1933, established in forty states and the District of Columbia. During December approximately 228,000 persons, including 12,800 families, were cared for by the Transient Service, to which the FERA allocated during 1933, $3,775,555.

The foundations laid by the Transient Department of the FERA in the fall of 1933 gave promise of a national program adequate both in scope and effectiveness. Transient relief has now been made an integral part of the relief program of the state, each state director retaining final administrative responsibility. The funds needed are earmarked by the FERA. There is danger here that the plan of Transient Service will go back to the old local basis with each state and community avoiding responsibility under the pressure to take care of its own resident dependents. In my judgment if progress is to be made in dealing with this abnormal social problem, the care of transients must become a national undertaking, controlled, paid for and administered by the federal government.

From the first, the FERA added great momentum to the already widespread movement for work instead of direct relief. It found a great variety of work-relief programs under way, some of them practically systems of forced labor with little or no individualization of service or determination of need. Some paid in cash, others in grocery orders and some in both. The administration attempted to bring order into this chaos, and issued instructions to the states which, had they been carried out, would have done much to place work relief on a sound basis. By November 1, 1933, approximately two million people were on work relief, though great difficulty was experienced in providing suitable and useful projects, largely because of lack of funds for wages and materials. Useful work relief is more expensive than direct relief unless its social values are considered.

One phase of this program entered into education. By the end of 1933, approximately $2 million a month was going to

FERA was an outstanding subject of discussion at the National Conference of Social Work and a thoughtful paper by Mr. Bookman, of which this article is an abbreviated version, gave it both facts and direction. The author says of it:

"I am anxious to push along as far as I can, the next steps that must be taken by social work if a decent job is to be done on unemployment relief. The paper has been developed with that thought in mind. If we can drive towards a permanent set-up for handling relief and related problems, if we can secure more ample appropriations, and if we can prepare a more far-reaching program with permanent values to present to the next Congress, some definite progress will have been made."

Mr. Bookman was for some months special assistant to the federal relief administrator. He is a past-president of the National Conference, a member of the Board of Directors of Survey Associates and, by way of a full-time job, the executive director of the Community Chest of Cincinnati, Ohio.

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the states for the part-time pay of unemployed teachers and others qualified to teach who were in need of relief. A quota of 40,000 teachers had been assigned to the entire country. In this way many rural schools were kept open and adult education and special vocational training were provided. This was highly constructive and brought much needed assistance to a group which, up to that time, had been neglected.

In September, came the Woman's Work Division in the FERA and a countrywide organization which was able, under CWA, to put into operation a wide variety of projects employing a total of 180,814 women. This program would have been much more effective if it had had more adequate funds and if states had been assured of federal money to carry on projects.

The FERA, at the very beginning, had to face complications due to severe drought in certain areas. In addition to certain loan conditions, not involving the FERA, special plans were adopted calling for relief grants to supply feed for livestock and seeds for planting as well as for work relief and direct relief in districts where, it was estimated, over 200,000 families were in need.

The Relief Act of 1933 provided for aid to cooperative and self-help associations for the barter of goods and services. More than 60,000 persons were reported to be members of twenty-eight organizations which, up to January 31, received grants totaling $309,664. The FERA has had a liberal attitude toward self-help associations, but their development has been slow and not on a scale to make a conclusive demonstration of anything.

During the summer of 1933 the Agricultural Adjustment Administration found that its efforts to raise agricultural prices to a proportionate level with those of manufactured commodities were blocked by the huge surplus of agricultural products swamping the market at a time when millions of people were in dire need of the necessaries of life. The Relief Administration arranged to distribute large quantities of this surplus as material relief in addition to the regular relief allotments. Between October 4, 1933 and January 31, 1934 the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation used $24,518,500 of relief funds for the purchase of agricultural products, this in addition to the amount made available by the AAA through processing taxes.

At a time when the FERA was recommending cash relief and deploring relief in kind, it found itself sponsoring the largest program of relief in kind ever undertaken in this country. Contrary as this was to approved practices it appeared, under the circumstances then prevailing, to be a wise and sensible procedure. Nevertheless, the more or less indiscriminate distribution of surplus products undoubtedly had a demoralizing influence on many of the people on relief. Certainly the whole subject should be most carefully considered before further wholesale distribution of surplus products is undertaken as a relief measure.

The records show widely divergent amounts of relief per family in various parts of the country. In July 1933 it ranged from $3.96 in Mississippi to $32.27 in Massachusetts. From May until November, due to improved economic conditions, the number of families on public relief dropped from 4,252,433 to 3,358,996, a decline of 21 percent. The total amount of relief was maintained at about the same level, namely, $70,806,338 in May and $70,304,229 in November. The decline in the number of those receiving relief, without a corresponding decrease in the totals of relief, meant an increase per family from an average of $16.55 in May to $21 in November.

While there was a steady improvement in standards of relief, the quality of service due to excessive case loads continued to be wholly inadequate and it is doubtful if there was much improvement during 1933. This was due to many things—the tremendous demands of reorganization, constant and violent fluctuations of relief policies, immense case loads, and continued uncertainty as to the amount of money available. It is, however, fair to say that one of the most significant contributions of the FERA has been its recognition of the importance of case work in administering relief.

Many factors entered into the creation of the Civil Works Administration. The principle of work instead of direct relief had become a fairly well fixed policy. Work relief was employing some two million people on projects, many of questionable value. Spot studies indicated a breakdown in the morale of the unemployed and it was clear that we were in serious danger of building up an unemployable class.

The truism that the only cure for unemployment is employment was to have a searching test. The Civil Works program, financed with $400 million allocated by the Public Works Administration, was announced on November 8. During the following week the staff of the FERA undertook the staggering task of setting up a system by which 4 million men might speedily and effectively be put to work on useful jobs. Accounting and disbursing procedures, types of projects, allocation of men by states, record forms and general policies, all had to be prepared between November 8 and the meeting of state and local officials, governors and members of Congress, held on November 15. On November 16, the first transfers of work relief men to CWA payrolls began. By November 20, all persons on work relief had been transferred and work relief was abolished. On the first payday 857,565 workers received CWA checks and on January 18, over 4,000,000. In any project, after it is finished, it is easy to discover mistakes, limitations and unsound procedures. CWA was a gigantic undertaking executed with great speed. There is danger that its mistakes may cause us to lose sight of what was sound in it and of what it accomplished.

Civil Works had from the first an unfortunate mixture of programs. It was a recovery measure designed to put money into circulation and to give work to the unemployed on a basis of their need as well as of their employability. Two million were to be taken from the relief rolls and another two million through public employment offices. It was a short-time public-works program on a combined efficiency and relief basis. The wage-rates were established by the PWA. This meant that wages were in many cases higher than the going rate in communities. There were scattered instances of workers quitting regular jobs to get on CWA.

Because of its administration by the FERA, the public insisted upon regarding the CWA largely as a relief measure. As a result, self-respecting men who had taken CWA jobs in the honest belief that they had no relation to a need for relief, found themselves objects of public criticism and even on trial before public committees. Arising also out of this insistence upon regarding the CWA as a relief measure was a further lowering of the morale of the unemployed who failed to get CWA jobs,—and these were more than three out of every four who applied, but who saw neighbors placed who had less need for work. This was one cause of the recurrent charges of political and other favoritism. While politics played no part in either the relief or the CWA program so far as the FERA was concerned, in local communities it inevitably crept in.

As a result of the CWA experience it seems reasonable to

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say that any fund administered by relief departments of the government must, in the future, be administered upon a basis of need, and that work-relief principles are sound in the carrying out of work programs by relief departments. Funds designed to increase consuming power should be administered through other agencies of government where the public expects work to be done on an efficiency basis.

It soon became evident that available money was insufficient to carry the CWA beyond February 1. In announcing the program, the President had clearly indicated that it was for the winter months only. The belief, however, was almost universal that the program would continue as long as needed. Because of inherent difficulties and because of improving business conditions, it was decided that the CWA should be demobilized and should end on May 1, with work relief taking its place for those still in need. But the increasing realization of the huge financial obligation brought the CWA program to an abrupt close on March 31.

CWA cannot be evaluated solely from the standpoint either of relief or of public works because it partook of the nature of both. Viewed as a relief measure it was an extravagant procedure. Between November 1933 and January 1934, instead of the expected seasonal increase in relief loads of 10 percent, there was a decline of 868,996 cases which may be largely attributed to CWA. If we add to this an estimate of the numbers which probably would have been on relief in January if CWA had not been in existence, we may say that CWA probably saved 1,200,000 men from the regular relief rolls. But CWA obviously resulted in many relief applications from those who were disappointed in getting CWA jobs, otherwise there would have been a decrease of fully two million from the relief rolls instead of less than a million.

From the standpoint of the cost of relief we have the same picture. The relief bill for November was $70,348,298. If we add to this 18 percent as the expected total for January on the basis of the preceding year, we have an anticipated total of $83 million for January 1934. The actual expenditure was $52,700,000, or a saving in relief of approximately $30 million. Against this was the more than $241 million expended by CWA in January.

We must, however, consider the other values of CWA and not think of it wholly as a relief measure. The criticism has been advanced that CWA was extravagant as relief and not large enough or long enough continued to be effective for industrial recovery. It is natural, in the enthusiasm of the moment and in the face of an urgent situation, that the possible recovery value of CWA was not carefully calculated and that exaggerated claims were made. A reasonable claim can still be supported that for the time being it was helpful and that the consumption-goods industries and the retail trades felt its stimulation. On a basis of twelve million unemployed, CWA could offer a job to only one in three. The four million on CWA rolls represented 16 percent of those gainfully employed for wages and salaries in 1932. The billion dollars estimated by the federal administration as the total cost of CWA was slightly over 2 percent of the total national income paid out in wages in 1932 and about 3 percent of the total paid out for wages and salaries in the same year. Such an amount could not have a very marked effect upon business recovery.

Possibly the most serious defect of CWA was the vain hope it gave to millions of unemployed, that at last a job at a reasonable wage was to be provided for them by their government until business could re-employ them. That hope cannot again be established by any program we can now devise. To destroy the confidence and break down the morale of ten to twelve million people who had endured four years of privation and want was serious indeed.

It is to be hoped that in the future we may be wise enough to provide two separate work programs, each adequate to accomplish the purpose for which it is intended. One, a public-works program employing men on an efficiency basis and carried out by the regular departments of government ordinarily doing such work; the other, a work-relief program under the supervision of case workers and primarily designed as social therapy.

Upon the discontinuance of CWA, the FERA announced a threefold program: rural, urban and for stranded populations. Work relief was reinstated with need as its basis. Civil works and direct relief were replaced, in rural areas, by a program of rehabilitation to help destitute persons, eligible for relief, to sustain themselves through their own efforts. The program for stranded populations aims to restore independence to destitute rural residents by furnishing them the opportunity to produce their own food while earning enough cash in part-time employment for their other essential needs.

These new programs are just getting under way. In many respects they are necessarily experimental. They give promise of developing a more scientific method of handling relief than we have had in the past, but neither they or any other program can succeed unless a real philosophy is developed and broad national plans are laid. The FERA has developed a sound and adequate statistical and research department which has the facts upon which to base not only an emergency program, but long-time planning.

What is the situation at the end of the first year of the FERA?

1. In April 1934 the all-time peak of families on relief was reached—over 4,600,000 families. In March 1933 there were 4,500,000 families.

2. During the past year a billion dollars was spent on CWA and probably $800 million on work relief and direct relief.

3. On May 1, 1934, the FERA had about $350 million available to meet future relief needs. It is estimated that $850 million more must be appropriated by Congress for the ensuing twelve months; that is, that we must be prepared to disburse relief at the rate of $100 million a month. If the states and their local subdivisions continue their present rate of appropriations, from $25 to $30 million more per month will be available. But states and local subdivisions are encountering increasing difficulty in finding funds and it is doubtful if we can expect these sums. In other words, there appears to be less money in prospect for the next twelve months than was expended during the past twelve, including CWA expenditures which definitely must be taken into account.

4. Relief loads have been steadily climbing during March and April.

5. The amount allowed per family per month, while it shows an increase over one year ago, is still below any reasonable standard of relief.

6. There is confusion and uncertainty in administrative procedure that is seriously interfering with the business of giving adequate relief to the unemployed.

What are the prospects at the present time of public works and industry absorbing enough of the unemployed to reduce the relief rolls? Public works is now employing about 500,000 men. I hazard the guess that this will not be increased by more than 250,000 to 300,000 during the summer months. Industry will absorb additional workers during the summer, but probably not more than 1,500,000 more than it is now employing. Certainly this does not present a hopeful picture

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for the immediate future. We may be certain that our relief load will continue to be high for months to come regardless of the extent of business recovery.

The apparent disorganization and confusion in the administration of relief probably arises from the shifting of millions from CWA to work relief and direct relief. But part of the confusion, it seems to me, can be charged to faulty organization. We can predict with reasonable assurance that the new threefold program of the FERA can be made to work. The questions I wish to raise are: Will that program take care of the situation as we know it to be? If not, how can it be made to do so? My first suggestion is that our temporary setup give way to a permanent national relief organization, with state and local counterparts. My second, that we as a nation face frankly the inadequacy of the funds available and the probability of diminishing state and local funds; my third, that a program be prepared for the Congress which meets in 1935, that will be aimed towards more permanent and comprehensive results. This program must include phases of social welfare other than unemployment relief. It must not overlook the aged, the sick, dependent mothers, children and those in need of relief from causes other than unemployment.

One lesson we should have learned from our experience with the FERA is that no system of relief, however soundly conceived or ably administered, can be successful in coping with the byproducts of unemployment and that no system of relief can take the place of work opportunities. During the depression we have seen the morale of workers shattered, their health undermined, their homes disrupted. We have seen them change from self-respecting, independent citizens, into self-confessed unemployables.

Our future economic setup must provide work opportunity at such compensation as will insure to all a reasonable and increasing standard of living. This opportunity should be made possible under our industrial, social and political organization by whatever governmental regulation may be necessary, but only to the extent absolutely demanded, should such regulation be imposed. In this fifth year of the depression we are becoming increasingly conscious that we have entered a new social era in which social planning and the marshalling of all the forces of society will be necessary to meet the tremendous problems of the years to come. Economic conditions may improve, but major maladjustments in our economic life will continue for years. The fundamental human need for a guaranteed economic security will be increasingly imperative.

To meet this need our national life demands intelligent ordering, conscious planning and social control. No group should labor under the delusion that it has the wisdom or ability to plan or enforce all the needed adjustments. We must content ourselves with so understanding the problems of society that we may concentrate on planning and developing that limited sector of the social life for which we have special and professional competences. Our special competence as social workers clearly dictates the concentration of our attention and effort upon those phases of social planning that are immediately related to the great human quest for added security.

We are, from this standpoint, primarily interested in the whole field of social insurance, including accident insurance or workmen's compensation, old-age insurance or pensions, sickness or health insurance, and unemployment insurance or reserves. Since these devices and others which might be named are calculated to provide an increasing measure of security for large numbers who at present must depend entirely on haphazard relief, and since they represent effective social organization for meeting the great common needs of mankind, social workers should promote them to the best of their ability.

But though all these measures may help to make relief less necessary, there always will be some need for relief—distasteful and unfortunate as it may be. For this social planning is desperately needed. We must plan, in the very near future, an entirely different and modernized system of relief for this country. It should begin at the top in a carefully organized Federal Department of Welfare, to plan, direct and coordinate the diverse features necessary to a socially valuable and permanent national welfare program. It would scarcely be possible to develop and control such a program except through federal participation in finance and in direction.

The Federal Department of Welfare should operate though an efficient system of State Welfare Departments, which in turn would work through County Departments set up on an entirely new basis, eliminating the present scattered local welfare and relief activities, and replacing them with a unified, intelligent and efficient system.

This is an ambitious undertaking, but social workers may well concentrate upon it in the years immediately ahead. The key to unified action lies in the leadership of the federal government. One of the great lessons of the FERA is the value of leadership and unified national action. Every reason points to the necessity for a Federal Department of Welfare, with grants in aid to the states contingent on the establishment of sound administrative machinery and the maintenance of acceptable welfare and relief standards. With the establishment of such social and political organization would come a real hope of meeting effectively the needs of the coming years.

SINCE the original paper was written, the scene has shifted again. On May 15 the President recommended to Congress the appropriation of $1322 million "under fairly broad powers" delegated to the President. Of this it appears that $940 million is intended for the Relief Administration, principally for work relief to replace the Civil Works program. The President indicated that his recommendation was designed to round out his budget for the next fiscal year but that the appropriation he proposed might carry through only into the early part of the calendar year 1935. "If, at that time," he said, "conditions have not improved as we now hope, the next Congress will be in session and will have full opportunity to act." The new works program will delegate more responsibility to states, cities and counties with the federal government having a say as to how the money is to be spent.

Without further discussion of the details of the program, let's stop for a moment to consider the immediate future. Should we estimate less than 4½ million families as our relief load for some months ahead? At an average of $30 per family per month, this would require an appropriation of $135 million per month for relief. In using $30 per month per family I have placed the estimate beyond any relief program yet undertaken. Can an average of $30, after four years of privation, furnish sufficient relief to provide any degree of safety to the individuals or to society? We are still thinking of relief in terms of a few months' emergency. The time has come to plan in terms of a reasonably adequate standard of relief for the unemployed and not on the basis of making an appropriation last over a stated period of time.

I am pleading for a different approach to the whole problem of relief until industry actually absorbs the unemployed. "No one will be permitted to starve" is no longer an ethically sound nor a socially safe program of relief.

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1000 Delinquent Boys

By a Juvenile Court Judge

To the Editor: The summary of Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck's One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents by Dr. Richard C. Cabot which appeared in the February Midmonthly issue of The Survey has been the subject of considerable discussion and the source of a great deal of adverse and unwarranted criticism of juvenile courts. The impression left upon the average reader by Dr. Cabot's article is that the Boston Juvenile Court is one of the outstanding courts of its kind in the country and that, despite this, it has signally failed to deter or reform 88 percent of all the boys who have been brought before it. Neither impression is true. Dr. Cabot's article, by inference, leads to the further impression that what is true of the Boston Juvenile Court is also true of juvenile courts in general, and that they are, to quote Dr. Cabot,

> an appallingly complete and costly failure, a stupendous waste of time, money and effort in an attempt to check delinquency.

Those who are in close touch with the juvenile court movement of today and familiar with the work of the progressive courts know that these impressions are not warranted by the facts. It is not to be supposed that Dr. Cabot intended to create such impressions. Nevertheless, these are the impressions gained by practically everyone with whom I have discussed the article, including professional social workers, educators and intelligent laymen. Dr. Cabot's article has been quoted in magazines, newspapers and organization reports as indicating the utter futility of the juvenile court movement.

The misapprehension is due to the presentation and wording of Dr. Cabot's article, which is unfortunate, to say the least. There is a lack of clarity because his main proposition, though stated, is not clearly defined. Possibly because of his familiarity with the survey about which he writes, he assumes a knowledge on the part of his readers which few of them can possibly possess and which is necessary for a proper perspective. For instance, what proportion were these one thousand boys of the total number that appeared before the Boston court in the period under consideration? The book itself does not give this information, but it was probably about 20 percent. The reader is not informed of the fact that these one thousand delinquent boys were the most perplexing problems and the least promising of all those brought before the court. In short, the article fails to make clear that these one thousand boys were extremely difficult cases to begin with, from which a large percentage of successes was not to be expected.

Dr. Cabot says he was familiar with the facts of this survey when he challenged the social workers at the Minneapolis conference in 1931. Let me quote from his presidential address on that occasion. After commenting that the Gluecks' previous book, 500 Criminal Careers, showed 80 percent of failures, he said:

> A similar study of one of the best known private case work agencies in Boston is soon to be published. It shows 88 percent of failures.

Then he continued:

> Is this a bad showing or a good one? I doubt if anyone is yet in a position to answer the question. In certain fields of medicine 88 percent of failures, or 12 percent of successes, would today be regarded as an extraordinarily good showing.

The inferred comparison is Dr. Cabot's, not mine. Has he now altered his opinion? Let me quote from the book under discussion, page 236, where the Gluecks state:

> an appraisal of the value of the clinic-juvenile court approach to the treatment of delinquents cannot depend solely on the test of post-treatment recidivism. A physician who makes a thoroughgoing diagnosis and carries out an intelligent program of treatment is not judged exclusively by the percentage of his patients who fail to recover.

Nor should the reader get the impression that the Boston Juvenile Court was then, or is now, truly representative of the juvenile courts of the country. There is probably no metropolitan court in the country which operates under greater handicaps. It is restricted by the Massachusetts juvenile court legislation, which the Gluecks describe as "a thing of shreds and patches" (page 17). It has jurisdiction only in the older and more congested central municipal court district of the city and is in frequent conflict with the municipal courts of other districts, which also exercise juvenile jurisdiction. It has never had adequate equipment or personnel to perform its functions effectively. It has not sufficient authority over parents and adult contributors to enforce its decisions and these have frequently been temporized by the fear of appeal which may remove the case entirely from its jurisdiction. It has not had the necessary support and cooperation from other social agencies, without which no juvenile court can function effectively. All these shortcomings and limitations are made abundantly clear in One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents by the Gluecks.

On the other hand, both the Boston court and the Judge Baker Foundation, which the Gluecks also reveal as being severely limited in efficiency, have received a great amount of wide publicity which has misled the public into a false belief of their preeminence in their respective fields. To this court

WIDESPREAD interest and sharp clash of opinion have followed the publication of the first volume of the Harvard Law School's Survey of Crime—One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, by Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck (Harvard University Press, $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.) Dr. Richard C. Cabot's review of it at substantial length in the February Midmonthly Survey (p. 38) was followed by a letter to the Editor from Dr. William Healy, director of the Judge Baker Guidance Center in Boston, in our March issue (p. 94); by letters from Philip Schoenberg, of the Jewish Big Brother Association of Cleveland, and A. E. Howell, general supervisor of the Worcester, Mass., Board of Public Welfare, in the April issue (pp. 140–141), and, in the same issue by an article in reply by Charles L. Chute, executive director of the National Probation Association (p. 116).

Here we publish three letters, from the differing points of view of a juvenile court judge, a parole officer and a mental hygienist.

Dr. Cabot's review was used in abbreviated form in The Literary Digest of March 10 (p. 19). A review from the child-welfare point of view, Is There No Hope for Delinquent Youth? by Charles E. Dow, executive secretary of the Children's Protective Society, is published in The Tree, the house organ of the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies (April). And, as these lines are written, the whole matter is under discussion by Dr. Glueck and his critics at the National Conference of Social Work which is meeting in Kansas City, Missouri.

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might be applied the general observation made by C. C. Carstens, director of the Child Welfare League of America, in 1921:

The juvenile court has suffered in the house of its friends. They have too often been satisfied with only part of the necessary equipment and have stupidly vaunted themselves in the thought that they had a juvenile court; but the name has no virtue in it unless it is attached to an institution of substance. . . . For it is making bricks without straw.

The Boston Juvenile Court is a poor standard by which to measure the juvenile courts of the country. There are many far superior to it in facilities and personnel, backed by more comprehensive and adequate legislation. Juvenile courts have advanced a long way since the period under consideration by this survey (1917–1922), so that comparisons then and now are without point, except to demonstrate their evolution. The past ten years have witnessed a rapid advance in the development of techniques and methods not only in the larger but also in many of the smaller courts in the country. In many progressive communities the juvenile court has taken on the functions of a social service agency and as such has enlisted the effective cooperation of the other social service and case-working agencies within the community, and has used its influence and support toward the development or extension of such cooperating agencies. Psychiatric service and follow-up treatment is now used by a large number of courts.

Dr. Cabot's article cannot be termed an adequate or comprehensive summary of the book, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents. Rather, it appears to be an expression of his personal conclusions as to some of the material it contains. Those who read the book will be surprised to find that the conclusions and recommendations made by the Gluecks are considerably at variance with those which Dr. Cabot's article seems to convey. Certainly Dr. Cabot has a right to his own opinions and to the free expression of them, but it is unfortunate that, because of his connection with the university under the auspices of which the survey was made, and with the committee having the work in charge, the public is led to believe that he expresses the conclusions of the survey committee rather than his private opinion.

What are the conclusions of the survey as set forth in One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents? After examining the material gathered and remarking that, for statistical purposes, "the records of both court and clinic were found to be inadequate to the purpose we had in mind" (page 131) the survey points out deficiencies of the law and of the physical and personnel set-up of the court and clinic. It points out that the clinic frequently made recommendations which it was impractical and sometimes impossible to carry out. It also makes clear that the community and society as a whole have a large part in the responsibility for the non-success of the court and clinic.

An increase in the extent to which a clinic and juvenile court can bring about transformation of character and conduct must, in the last analysis, depend upon general improvement in social conditions and in the mental and physical equipment of their clientele. In large measure, however, these are beyond the scope and control of a clinic and court; they present broad and deep problems to be met by society and social policy as a whole (page 230).

Speaking of the clinic, the survey says (page 238):

But even from the point of view of "practical results" in reducing delinquency, the value of a psychiatric clinic is not to be determined exclusively by the test of post-treatment recidivism or reform.

And further (page 240):

A clinic is also capable of giving direct aid to a community in preventing the spread of criminal contagion.

Regarding the court, it says (page 241):

A juvenile court also contributes intangible but real values which justify its retention.

Summarizing their findings, the authors say:

The upshot of our argument, then, is that despite the disappointingly small number of successful outcomes of cases as measured by delinquency, the path of progress does not seem to lie in the direction of abandonment of juvenile clinics and courts.

It follows this with recommendations looking to the improvement of both court and clinic and points out that delinquency is a community problem against which the clinic and court are ineffectual without the organized support of the community and the facilities for social readjustment within the community which it requires.

One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents is not a study of juvenile courts nor of delinquency clinics. It is not even a comprehensive study of one court. It is as thorough a study as was possible with the fragmentary and limited material at hand of the relationship of the Boston Juvenile Court and the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic in dealing with a given number of the more difficult delinquent boys who came before the court. The period studied was during and just after the World War, when juvenile delinquency had reached a height from which it has since greatly receded, and when the disorganization and lowered morale of society were unfavorable to successful readjustment. The clinic was newly established and was not yet firmly rooted in its new soil, nor able to utilize the existing facilities of its environment. The judge of the court was fresh from the bar, was legalistic in attitude and had not yet acquired the philosophy of his work and the technique that comes only through experience. The court was badly handicapped, on the one hand by limited legal powers, personnel and equipment, and on the other hand by a dearth of social resources in the community with which to carry out either the recommendations of the clinic or his own decisions. With this inadequate equipment for diagnosis and treatment, cannot 12 percent of successes in extremely difficult cases be regarded, as Dr. Cabot intimated at Minneapolis, "an extraordinarily good showing"?

May we hope that those who have read Dr. Cabot's article will withhold their judgment until they have read One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents. Then we are confident that they will not apply the conclusions of either to all juvenile courts indiscriminately.

HARRY L. EASTMAN
Judge, Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court, Cleveland, Ohio

By a Parole Officer

TO THE EDITOR: Perhaps there are others like me who read the reviews and commentaries of and on the Gluecks' book, 1000 Juvenile Delinquents, before reading the study itself. And of those possibly a number felt as I did after jumping at a conclusion—that there was nothing for a decent, self-respecting social worker to do but resign. For, to take the articles seriously, social case work seemed to have failed, as had every technique known to and supplementing it. And if so, why waste time, money and energy upon a program unproductive of results? I fear this feeling may be more than the exception among social workers, and that the critiques may have created an unfortunate impression which the Gluecks themselves would want to modify. Consequently this letter, the thesis of which is: read the book.

For the book sets up no indictment of social work. Neither does it point to a failure of the psychiatric approach. What it says in effect is, not that the techniques here employed were impotent, but that the facilities for the employment of the techniques were inadequate. This is a criticism of the failure of a community to provide adequately for the few types of therapy that are believed to have some value.

The case-work technique is not criticized. It has not been given a chance here. Only a portion of the 1000 delinquents were exposed to it. Placement on a farm, in a foster home or a penal institution does not imply continuous case-work supervision.

As for those children who were placed under the supervision of a probation officer, what do we know of the degree of the case work efficiently employed? Who are the probation officers? Are they well trained? What is the basis of their selection? What of their personality and approach? In other words, what is the calibre of case work which may be expected from this particular group of probation officers? It is not very significant to us to be told that case work

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was unable to decrease recidivism if we are not certain that maximum efficiency in the case-work technique was achieved.

Further, of all the cases studied, 547 were under treatment from three to not more than nine months. Only 72 were under treatment for more than 18 months. With this as an indicator of what may obtain among those under "case-work supervision," we may question what possible efficacy there may be in such short-time treatment. All of us working with delinquents have been forced to the realization that to attempt to recondition the ingrained behavior patterns of anti-social beings, we must, on the average, carry cases over a considerably longer period.

That the calibre of the case worker is a factor, if not the prepotent factor, in optimum achievement, is hinted at in the finding by the Gluecks that some relation was found to be present between the make-up and technique of the probation officer and the degree of success in his case load. Certain officers were found to have a definitely higher percentage of success than others.

But if the Gluecks have not criticized the case-work *technique*, neither have they deprecated the possible value of the psychiatric approach. They themselves would be the last to say so. What they point out is that the rounded psychiatric approach was not used. The Judge Baker Foundation Clinic, due to lack of time and facility, was limited to diagnosis alone and gave no treatment. In 80.5 percent of the cases the child was seen in the clinic only once. And when recommendations for therapy by a lay person were made they were carried out completely in only 21.5 percent of the cases.

When we finally analyze the study from the standpoint of these two considerations, the efficacy, or lack of it, of case work and psychiatric techniques, we find that the authors have not attempted to say anything more than that under existing conditions, in this particular community, at this particular period, recidivism was present to a high degree and that if these approaches might have been helpful, they were not because they were not properly tried out, they were not adequately provided for. The reflection, then, is upon the prevailing practice, in most communities, of starting a program of social planning, with the germ of what may be a good idea, without making it possible to give that program proper facilities for working out to a finish.

The only condition under which a true analysis might be made of these techniques would be one in which a community has set up a fully adequate organization, dealing with the preventive stage of delinquency, a sort of anticipatory social case work and psychiatry, carrying the work on through to the probationer or paroled man, over a long period of time.

The Gluecks' book ought to be a starting point. It has pointed out the need of evaluating, not the minutiae of a large problem, but the problem in the whole. In a field such as family case work this might be a valuable suggestion. Practice has so rapidly outstripped theory that it may be well to stop and analyze the entire work of the family case-worker, and to measure his results critically and accurately. With a series of such studies, in the several related fields, one could, perhaps, finally reach a conclusion, either that the techniques are valueless, or that they can overcome some of the obstacles, such as lack of funds, time, and so on, and still achieve something worth while. The Gluecks' book ought to be a challenge to the whole field of social work.

DAVID DRESSLER
Senior parole officer, New York State Division of Parole

By a Mental Hygienist

TO THE EDITOR: Doctor Cabot's review and discussion of 1000 Delinquent Boys so involves child-guidance clinics generally that it calls for a brief, defensive reply. His implications are of general interest not only because the Judge Baker Foundation has stimulated the organization of other clinics and is often pointed out as a characteristic example of child-guidance work, but also because Dr. Cabot himself stretches beyond this one clinic in his discussion and says things about clinics in general.

The study of 1000 juvenile delinquents reflects activities of 1917 to 1922, a period which was not only atypical due to war and post-war conditions, but a period which represented the first years of a new venture. One who knows anything about social change does not expect that the first years of effort are reflected primarily in case results. The first years, while directed toward cases, are consumed much more in arriving at changed orientations, new facts, battling against obstructive precedent, and the development of greater critique in method. Seen from this angle, the progress in the court and clinic in Boston during these years was full of achievement that contradicts any conclusion that the project was a "stupendous waste of time, money and effort" as Dr. Cabot has put it. Dr. Cabot must appreciate that in all our social advances these initial orientations are the first gains. Efforts toward the control of cancer are at present at this orienting stage, while the war against tuberculosis has, over the past twenty-five years, reaped case results for which earlier work laid the orientations.

Without giving the Judge Baker Foundation credit for some commonsense in benefiting by its experience, Dr. Cabot takes the conclusions of a study of work done fifteen years ago and presumes to apply it to the conditions of today, without appreciating that this and other clinics have long realized the needs that he so easily presents on paper and have struggled with their practical implications. His flat charge that the Healys have been "so busy that they do not know whether their work is having a good effect, a bad effect, or no effect at all," can only be explained by his failure to observe the necessary scientific procedure of getting reliable data. The follow-up made by the Gluecks is not the only follow-up that has been made on the cases of the Judge Baker Foundation, and aside from formal follow-ups, the Foundation has by a case-to-case interest become fully aware of every issue that Dr. Cabot has raised and has attempted to cope with it. When Dr. Cabot says that these delinquents were "studied by expert psychiatric procedures and treated by methods most in vogue elsewhere today," we are sure that he has spoken beyond his data. Dr. Cabot does not know what is in vogue in clinics today. To study treatment methods by the careful analysis of case records, clinic by clinic, has definite limitations, even though it is the best method available, but to arrive at a theoretical mode of treatment procedure without even visiting clinics, without talking with their staffs or even corresponding with them, leaves available only such snatches as can be gleaned from the printed literature. Yet this literature alone shows considerable critical consideration and experimentation with treatment and could by no means lead us to a conclusion of fifteen years of stasis.

Every worth-while recommendation made by Dr. Cabot, or for that matter the Gluecks themselves, has been appreciated, voiced, experimented with and at times discarded as impractical by clinic after clinic, and not the least among these, the Judge Baker Foundation. The plea for complete merging of the clinic and court is not, excepting in our larger cities where specialization is possible, conducive to the close community coordination of schools, social and health agencies that the Gluecks have pointed out as the prime loci for the attack upon delinquency. The essential point that the Gluecks have stressed even as of 1917 is that a scientific approach is of itself valid, entirely apart from case results, since through it alone have we any prospect of progress. Only as this clinic approach is shown to be less valid than some other which can entirely take its place is it due for condemnation, even though, contrarywise, it is always due for suggestions as to new and changed procedure.

GEORGE S. STEVENSON
Director, Division on Community Clinics, National Committee for Mental Hygiene

Dr. Cabot Replies

TO THE EDITOR: Among the criticisms of Dr. and Mrs. Glueck's book, 1000 Juvenile Delinquents, and more particularly of my review of it in the Survey for February 15, are the following points:

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1. That the thousand cases studied by the Gluecks were "the toughest kids they could find," a group of particularly difficult cases, not the ordinary juvenile delinquent. Is this so? I think not.

As the Gluecks' book was finished before Judge Cabot's death, both they and I had long talks with him on this very point, and were assured by him that he had *not* picked out especially serious or difficult cases to send to the Judge Baker Foundation for examination, although among the reasons for sending cases to the clinic was that they *puzzled* him. Obviously a cursory contact with a delinquent child cannot indicate the extent of the difficulty of treatment. Certainly the seriousness of the offense (in the legal sense) is no criterion of the difficulty of treatment, as all the Gluecks' researches show.

I have before me the figures in regard to 504 boys who appeared before the juvenile session of the Municipal Court in the Roxbury District of Boston, and who were placed on "straight probation" or on "suspended sentence," and had *satisfactorily completed their probation* during the years 1919–1923. Thomas F. Teehan, chief probation officer in that court, who gave me these figures, found that of the total of 504 boys, 72 percent were repeaters after the expiration of probation, as gauged by the records of the Board of Probation alone.[1] Twenty-seven of these boys were parochial school boys, and of these 14, or approximately 50 percent, were repeaters. Mr. Teehan had no chance to supplement this finding by the intensive methods of follow-up investigation applied by the Gluecks, which would in all probability have augmented the failure rate at least to the 88 percent found by the Gluecks, as in their series a recidivism of 62 percent was found when they checked through the Probation Commission alone. In Mr. Teehan's group there is no question of the selection of especially difficult cases, as only those boys who had successfully completed their probation were included.

Incidentally it must be remembered that it was the Gluecks' purpose, clearly stated and reemphasized in their book, to gauge the combined effectiveness of society's most modern device for coping with juvenile delinquency, viz., a juvenile court with a clinical adjunct. This aim dictated the choice, not of all court cases but only of those sent by the court to the clinic for examination. The exact aim of the Gluecks' study is carefully indicated throughout their book, and even in its title,—One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents: Their Treatment by Court and Clinic.

2. Dr. Healy and other of your correspondents submitted that the responsibility for the results shown in the Gluecks' book should be laid, not on the Juvenile Court or on the Judge Baker Foundation, but on the community in general, which permits children to grow up in such bad conditions. But if the environmental effects were as important as is suggested by the phrase, "a community problem," why then do they not act on all those exposed to them? We all know that although there are often several delinquents in one family, this is by no means always the case. A genuinely important environmental influence, such as that of a tropical climate on members of the white race, shows its effects on practically *every* white man, not on a minority only.

Moreover, if delinquency is a community problem, this is equally true of tuberculosis, rickets and other diseases which medical science has nevertheless effectively combatted without radically changing the community conditions in which these diseases spring up. At any rate, one cannot say *both* that delinquency is wholly or largely a community problem, *and* that particular agencies designed to combat it are doing effective work at the present time. It is true that the work of a juvenile court and clinic can be improved by more adequate collaboration of all constructive community agencies; but this does not mean that a juvenile court and clinic can disclaim all responsibility for the unfavorable outcomes.

3. It has also been said that the Juvenile Court never pretended to cure delinquency, as medical science now does not pretend to cure cases of advanced cancer. To this the answer is that if such institutions as the Juvenile Court and the Judge Baker Foundation do not cure *or ameliorate* delinquency, it is not obvious why they should exist. Any hospital that had a failure rate of 88 percent could not secure public support. It is relevant here to recall some phrases of Dr. Healy. He is the man who knows most about the cases studied by the Gluecks, and in his excellent letter in The Survey, March 15, 1934, he says, "The facts of failure were well known to us and largely recorded in our case records. . . . The Juvenile Court was established as a humanitarian adventure; the hope of its being curative has not been fulfilled." Precisely.

We need only to refer to the earlier and current literature regarding the purpose of establishing juvenile courts and clinics to see that the philosophy underlying them is not merely one of humanitarian procedure, but definitely relates to the prevention and cure of crime.[2]

4. Several of your correspondents say in substance, "What was the matter with Boston and her Juvenile Court in 1917 to 1922?" implying that much better results are now obtained elsewhere. When in other cities 1000 delinquents have been followed up with the same extraordinary thoroughness used by the Gluecks, and are reported on *not by those primarily concerned in their treatment* but by impartial judges, we shall know whether the Boston Juvenile Court under Judge Cabot has in fact made a poor showing compared with other cities. Today no one can say this with evidence to prove it.

This last argument reminds me of an old experience of mine. Twenty-five years ago I checked in the autopsy records 5000 cases diagnosed during life at the Massachusetts General Hospital, and found a surprisingly large percentage of mistaken diagnoses. When I reported these facts to representative physicians from different parts of the country there was the same outcry,—"What is the matter with Boston?" I answered then, "Have your own diagnoses checked by an impartial outsider like the pathologist and you will probably find that you are not doing any better." So far as I know this challenge, issued in the year 1910, has never been answered. I look with interest to see the response to the similar challenge made by the Gluecks' research.

5. Finally, several writers have tried to make a distinction between what the Gluecks think and what I think. The Gluecks read and approved my review before it was sent to The Survey. They agreed with it then, they agree with it now. Of course, in a brief article I could not go into all the nuances and qualifications of the central finding of high recidivism to an extent possible in a book. But if there is any difference in emphasis discoverable between us, I would certainly say, "Read the Gluecks' book. Don't bother with my review."

Cambridge, Mass. RICHARD C. CABOT, M.D.

[1] This is a central clearing file of court records for Massachusetts.

[2] See for example the statements of such authorities as The Survey magazine, editorial in the issue of February 5, 1910; Judge Julian W. Mack, The Juvenile Court (Proceedings of the American Bar Association, 1909, pp. 453–454); H. H. Lou, Juvenile Courts in the United States, 1927, p. 143; Charles L. Chute, Probation in Children's Courts (US Children's Bureau Publications No. 80. 1921, p. 9); Dr. Augusta Bronner, The Contribution of Science to a Program for Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency (in The Child, the Clinic, and the Court, pp. 76–77); Grace Abbott, Case Work Responsibility of Juvenile Courts (1929 Year Book of the National Probation Association, pp. 85, 86, 88–89). A host of other authorities and leaders in this movement might be cited.

Correction

TO THE EDITOR: I have just finished reading with much interest the comments on my study of relief policies in five Ohio counties as published in The Survey of April 15, page 134. I found, much to my humiliation, a typographical error for which I was responsible as it appears in the table which was published in our booklet. It occurs in connection with the figures on case workers per 1000 population in Cuyahoga and Hamilton Counties. This should read: for Cuyahoga .607 and Hamilton .257 workers per thousand population.

Cincinnati Community Chest ELLERY F. REED

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THE COMMON WELFARE

The Propaganda Joker

THE Federal Revenue Act of 1934, recently signed by President Roosevelt, was made into law without change in the new clause regarding propaganda, which it was pointed out in The Survey for May (A Muzzle in the Revenue Bill? page 147), might be used to keep social agencies from campaigning for new legislation. Paragraph (o) of Section 23, providing for deductions from gross income for "charitable and other contributions," now reads, the new part being in italics:

Subdivision (2), A corporation or trust or community chest fund or foundation organized and operated exclusively for religious, scientific, literary or educational purposes or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual, *and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.*

This provision was not appended to the separate sub-paragraph describing "posts or organizations of war veterans, or auxiliaries, units or societies of any such posts or organizations," so that the American Legion may carry on all the propaganda and lobbying it likes without suffering in the deductibility of contributions made to its funds.

As was pointed out in our May issue, this might be used as a club against any social agency which, in the natural course of the year's work, campaigns for changes in the welfare and health laws, state and federal. A member of Survey Associates, who is a lawyer, urges that social agencies begin now to plan a campaign to secure an amendment by the next Congress.

Without Benefit of the AMA

"THE point at issue is not the insurance principle but how to use it" declared the Committee on Medical Economics of the Colorado State Medical Society in a recent constructive report to the Society's House of Delegates and Officers. The Committee approved a program of offering annual medical service on a voluntary non-profit basis through county medical societies, with provision for the indigent, for families of small means and the middle class. These recommendations were accepted by the Reference Committee on Reports, adding a fifth state medical association to the list of those which have taken or approved immediate steps to offer service through county societies on payment of an annual fee. Not the least significant aspect of the report and its acceptance is the allusion to the American Medical Association: "We are not unmindful of the opposition of the AMA to the general plan of insurance medicine . . ." declared the Committee on Medical Economics. "All of us have looked to the AMA for help. Thus far we have been disappointed." The Reference Committee commented, "We do not believe such a trial of an insurance contract will provoke a revolution in the conduct of medical practice," perhaps alluding to the famous editorial on "communism, socialism, inciting to revolution" with which The Journal of the American Medical Association greeted the report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. The Committee continued, "We regret that the AMA has not been of more practical help to the physician in his economic problems, but we look to recommendations of value in the near future." By action, in going ahead on lines condemned by their national association, at least seven state medical societies have dissented from the national leadership of the organized profession.

As an editorial in a recent issue of The Journal of the American Medical Association remarks cautiously, "There seem to be evidences that official bodies representing the medical profession in some of the states are interested in a change of this policy of the House of Delegates"—that is, of using all the Association's facilities "in opposing the introduction of state medicine in any form." In practice, "state medicine" has been interpreted to include such plans as the state medical societies themselves are forwarding. The Association's current annual meeting in Cleveland cannot help but be a lively arena, though perhaps held behind closed doors. The outcome is of moment to the public as well as the doctors.

Fairness to Physician and Patient

TWO recent statements of public officials are of hopeful interest to everyone concerned in seeing a long-deserved deal accrue to doctors and patients. Speaking at a meeting of the Hospital Association of New York State, Dr. S. S. Goldwater, New York City's commissioner of hospitals, declared that his department is considering the possibility of what would be a revolutionary change in hospital policy—paying the physicians who work in the municipal hospitals and dispensaries. Such a change he believes necessary, if current economic conditions continue, in the interests both of the doctors and the public. "While the idea that the physician should give his services to the poor gratuitously was all right under different economic conditions, it becomes a doubtful one when about three fourths of a man's service is free." Praising the self-sacrifice and devotion of the physicians, he added that it is inevitable that "when there are conflicts between private interest and public duty a man naturally inclines toward his private interest and I believe that the service suffers."

At a Mothers' Day meeting in New York City sponsored by the Maternity Center Association and the Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service, Dr. Thomas W. Parran, Jr., commissioner of health of New York State, urged whole-hearted public responsibility to prevent needless deaths of mothers and babies. "I would propose," Dr. Parran declared, "that we should offer to pay through taxes the entire medical, hospital and nursing costs of childbearing for every woman unable to provide it for herself. The greatest freedom of choice of the physician should be allowed which is compatible with securing competent medical service. Only those physicians who prove themselves incompetent or indifferent should be excluded. Many communities provide through taxes for the treatment of tuberculosis in case of need, irrespective of the financial condition of the patient. The cure of the patient and the prevention of disease are held more important to the community than the patient's ability to pay. . . . I propose that the medical, hospital and nursing costs of childbearing, paid by public funds, be put upon the basis of the medical need, rather than be measured by the pauper's oath." As a result of "our mismanagement of the childbearing function," Dr. Parran

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showed, there are more deaths in a year in New York State than are caused by cancer and two and one half as many as are due to tuberculosis.

The YWCA Social Program

THE federal bill which would permit dissemination of contraceptive information or materials through physicians, medical colleges, druggists who were filling a physician's prescription, and hospitals and clinics, at last at this session was reported out favorably by the Senate Committee on Judiciary. At this writing, however, it still has been kept by its opponents from coming to a vote. Only continued and increased pressure of public opinion on Congress apparently can carry the long fight through to its sensible end. A most important expression of such opinion came a few weeks ago in the resolution passed by the national convention of the Young Women's Christian Association—according to news reports, unanimously—declaring that the organization should work for measures to place the dissemination of birth-control information under authorized medical direction. The resolution was one of a number of courageous and enlightened planks of the organization's social program, including "the right of all individuals to organize for their own and the common good," minimum wages and limitation of hours of work, unemployment and sickness insurance, old-age pensions, abolition of child labor and adequate appropriations to protect the basic institutions of education.

The Housing Pot Boils

WITH the passage of enabling legislation in Georgia eleven states,—California, Kentucky, Illinois, New Jersey, Maryland, Michigan, New York, Ohio, West Virginia and Wisconsin—now have laws whereby low-cost housing may be undertaken by municipal authorities created for that purpose or other public bodies authorized to build. Of greater interest is the fact that land is being assembled for three public housing projects, one each in Atlanta and Cleveland, to be built by the Federal Emergency Housing Corporation, the other in Brooklyn by the New York City Housing Authority. Condemnation proceedings have been started in Atlanta to acquire 134 parcels of land needed to complete an area of 800,000 square feet necessary for a $2,100,000 housing project planned for Negroes, a procedure which, according to Secretary Ickes, will be followed wherever conditions demand.

The New York Housing Authority, on the other hand, is dealing directly with owners in an effort to assemble eight blocks of land for an eight- to ten-million-dollar project in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, to house some 8000 people. In an open letter urging property-owners to set exactly the price they would have been willing to take "one day before you received this letter," the situation was put forth frankly in preparation for a subsequent meeting with them. Rumor has it that the Authority's presentation is being kindly received, perhaps because it is realized that if necessary other neighborhoods can be selected or condemnation proceedings used.

Another piece of New York news is that one housing bill out of four sponsored by welfare and civic organizations was passed by the recent legislature. It requires owners of old-law tenements to fire-retard halls and stairways within two years. The law requiring a toilet for every family was not passed, nor were the legislators willing to outlaw windowless rooms after January 1, 1939. Yet the campaign was encouraging because it enlisted the support of a larger group of organizations and individuals than in previous years, because the measures were not actively opposed by the more prominent real-estate organizations, a small but vociferous group of old-law tenement owners being the main opponents, and because of the stimulation of interest in housing conditions by the neighborhood people themselves, evidenced by the large delegation that attended the hearings.

To the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor at its recent conference goes the honor of organizing the first Labor Housing Conference. At last regarding itself as consumer as well as builder of homes, this action, if followed by other labor groups, should help bring about low-cost housing in this country.

Earnings at 40

MIDDLE age is no barrier to advancement for women in business and the professions. This is one of several striking conclusions drawn in a report on 20,000 business and professional women, recently transmitted to the secretary of labor by Mary Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau. The material for the questionnaire study on which the report is based was assembled by the Carola Woerishoffer graduate department at Bryn Mawr College.

The age range of the group was 17 to 79 years, with an average of 39½ years. More than 20 percent were 50 years of age or older. While the earnings of these women were "far from dazzling," the highest median was in the 50 to 60 age group. One fourth of the total number received less than $1210, only a fourth received more than $2075, and less than 3 percent reported yearly earnings of $4000 or more.

> Earnings were highest for physicians and lowest for saleswomen. They were highest for college graduates and lowest for the normal-school educated. . . . They were on a higher level for single women than for married women.

Fields suggested as offering "the greatest opportunity to women today" were radio, insurance, dentistry, medicine, advertising and promotion, ownership and management. Nursing, secretarial and general office work are stressed as overcrowded. Aviation and public service are mentioned as new but promising fields for women. The report adds this comment:

> Increasing age does not appear to have been much of a handicap to these club members. The older workers put up a much better showing than do the young ones as to types of work suggestive of initiative and success. The lesson that women perhaps need to learn is to be ready, as birthdays pile up, to move over to something where maturity rather than youth is an asset.

State Planning Boards

IT IS heartening to know that in one long-range field of the recovery program—the vital field of planning—steady progress is being made. While the work of the National Planning Board appointed less than a year ago goes on apace, more than half the states have created unofficial state planning boards. To Washington must go a large share of the credit for the quick response of the states to the planning idea, for besides constant encouragement, definite assistance is being provided to qualified state boards through the assignment of planning consultants drawn from the ranks of outstanding experts. This help is given on the theory that the boards will cooperate with the federal board in its task of preparing a program of public works and finally a national physical plan.

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According to Charles W. Eliot, II, executive officer of the National Board, the first goal of these state boards should be the preparation of a preliminary state plan which will cover various factors including usually a program of public works, a correlated transportation system, and a classification of the area of the state into the principal recommended land uses. Other activities suggested are housing, population trends, conservation of natural resources, recreation, distribution of industries, water resources, power problems, fiscal programming and reorganization of local governmental units. Obviously an attack will not be made on all these fronts simultaneously; obviously the needs may differ in different states. The important thing is that the work has actually started.

Eleanor McMain

THE Survey is only one of a host which is saddened by the death, after two years of illness, of Eleanor McMain, for thirty-eight years director of Kingsley House, New Orleans. The story of Miss McMain's life and work—they were inseparable—was told to Survey readers in Eleanor McMain—One of the Pioneers, by Bradley Buell, Survey Graphic, January, 1931, page 374. When as a kindergartner she took up her neighborhood work in a small house in the "Irish Channel" that section of the city was considered unsafe for outsiders. She proved the contrary, throwing in her lot with the neighborhood, leading in the fight against yellow fever and in movements for better schools, better housing and labor conditions. She organized the first playgrounds, children's gardens, and vacation schools and through her courageous espousals became the first citizen of New Orleans. The modern quadrangle of the new Kingsley House visualizes the impact of her leadership on the life of the city—but however much it strikes the visitor, the impression falls short of what all those who came in touch with her felt, the come-hither of a gorgeous personality, compact of insight, daring and engaging friendliness.

Brand Whitlock

BRAND WHITLOCK, who died last month in Cannes, won his greatest fame when, serving unimportantly as United States minister to Belgium, the World War gave him a hero's part to play. In the early days of the War, he protected many Germans, caught in Belgium and unable to leave. Later, when other diplomats followed the Belgian government to Havre, Mr. Whitlock stayed at his post and became the defender of Belgian as well as of neutral civilians in the invaded area. His notable work with the American Relief Committee, in association with Herbert Hoover, made his name an honored one throughout the Allied countries.

But to many Americans Brand Whitlock's efforts on behalf of decent municipal government and social reform during his seven years as mayor of Toledo, Ohio, were not less important than his service to destitute noncombatants of the War. He learned his first political lessons as secretary to Governor Altgeld of Illinois. In his three terms as mayor of Toledo, he continued the fight on behalf of "the masses" against the political machine, launched by his predecessor in office, "Golden Rule" Jones.

On the day Mr. Whitlock's death was announced, front-page headlines and stories reported a pitched battle between troops and strikers in the streets of Toledo, with "a tear gas barrage laid down by the soldiers," mounted machine-guns, two strikers shot dead and a score wounded. Behind this ugly and ominous situation is labor's demand for the right to organize and bargain collectively, management's short-sighted refusal to recognize the union. And on this battle front, as in the political conflict between privilege and the public, as in beleaguered Belgium, there is need for the imagination and courage, the leadership capable of patience and untiring effort that made Brand Whitlock of Toledo a notable public official and, with Nansen, one of the few authentic heroes of the War.

The Role of Education

THE importance of the liberal point of view in education, the danger of both communism and fascism "in their menace to educational progress in a democracy" are stressed in the annual report of Morse A. Cartwright, director of the American Association for Adult Education. The report was presented at the annual meeting of the association in Washington last month. Mr. Cartwright dissociates himself from those who would, through education, "reorganize the social order," holding that these zealots neglect facts of economics and history which show that education, instead of initiating action, "reflects both our progress and our backwardness as social orders develop out of our economic and, to some extent at least, our spiritual being." The same confused thinking, Mr. Cartwright holds, results in "too much talk among us of 'revolution' and far too little of the processes of 'evolution'." As he views the American experiment in democracy, it has been "part of a continuous revolution waged for almost one hundred and sixty years against those forms of government which do not rely upon the will of a people. But to speak of the flurry of 1933–34 as a 'revolution' is to exaggerate. . . . One who has observed revolution at first hand, with the repressive and oppressive measures deemed necessary by revolutionists, would have difficulty in applying such a term to our peaceful, if noisy, efforts to adjust ourselves to new economic conditions." Mr. Cartwright sees the success of "the American Revolution of 1776" as "wholly dependent upon adult education," and the entrance of the federal government into that field through subsidies to the states from the relief funds as "a significant happening of the last year." His report describes in detail a dozen phases of the emergency education program, and the resulting "partnership of the public school, the public library and private organizations in the staggering problem of serving the educational needs of adults."

The Neurath Museum

TO THOSE who had the privilege of meeting and hearing Otto Neurath when he was in New York in January 1933, the news of the closing of the Social and Economic Museum, of which he was the founder and director, will come as a sad byproduct of the tragedy of Vienna. The International Foundation for the Promotion of Visual Education (by the Neurath method) has established headquarters in Holland. This makes possible the purchase of the materials of the Museum, which has been mainly the property of the city of Vienna, and to establish it at The Hague, where Dr. Neurath is already located. Holland is doing its part in providing headquarters and in stimulating orders. The additional funds needed must come from America,—about $2000 to obtain the essential material of the library, production machinery and exhibits, and pay the cost of removal. An appeal is being made by Mary van Kleeck, 130 East 22nd Street, New York City, and other friends who are interested in promoting his contribution to visual education in the United States, to share in the opportunity of salvaging one of Vienna's achievements which has been threatened with destruction by the Austrian catastrophe.

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BOOKS

Vassar Honor Roll

COLLEGE WOMEN AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, *Essays by Herbert Elmer Mills and His Former Students. John Day. 324 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

SOCIAL work as well as Vassar proudly claims at least half the authors of this volume of essays written in honor of Herbert Elmer Mills, for forty years a member of its departments of history or economics. The first half of the table of contents reads like the program of an important meeting at the National Conference of Social Work: Gertrude Vaile on Public Relief; Ruth Taylor, A County Organizes for Social Welfare; Jane E. Culbert, The Visiting Teacher; Katharine Z. Wells Whipple, Health Education; Lillian A. Quinn, Contribution of College Women to Social Work; Sydnor Walker, Philanthropy in the Twentieth Century. For the rest, "the social sciences" spread out more broadly to include politics, world affairs, manufacturing industries, teaching, publishing and one happy champion of domesticity. "Millsy" must look with satisfaction as these graduates of 1900–15 pass before him in these pages, writing ably and modestly on the many fields into which they have made their way since the portals of "Baby Ec," "Charities and Correction" closed behind them. Looking at his turn at the forty years' procession, he declares in the opening essay, Changing Interest of College Women, that economics and social studies do not hold the place in college that they did. The change he believes due partly to the growing popularity of college education, bringing in girls with more varied and perhaps less "serious" interests; to academic regulations requiring greater concentration in a major field; the building up of newer departments in modern languages and psychology, for example; and—optimistically—that "the distress, the suffering and the social injustice of thirty or forty years ago have been decidedly lessened." That particular remark was written in an address given in February 1929. Maybe it still looks true—but how glad we are that in the interim Gertrude Vaile has been on the job at the University of Minnesota; Ruth Taylor in Westchester County; Katharine Whipple in the long-range and emergency bulwarks that the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association is holding against hard times; and Lillian Quinn and Sydnor Walker in the national crow-nests of the Joint Vocational Service and the Rockefeller Foundation—not to mention the other six in posts only a little more remote from depression's firing-lines. MARY ROSS
Vassar, 1915

Job-Hunting as a Job

THE UNEMPLOYED MAN, *by E. Wight Bakke. Dutton. 308 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE materials for this book were gathered during the summer of 1931. The author went to London that year to study "what has been the effect of unemployment insurance on the willingness and ability of workers to support themselves." In seeking his answer, he settled in that part of London known as Greenwich where the poor are especially poor and a little isolated. He spent his time talking with the people, the officials, reading records and making statistical tables.

More than a year has passed since the book was ready for the press and the materials about the Unemployment Insurance Acts are not up to the minute, but that is not important. Bakke writes about men who are unemployed, telling what they do and say and how they manage to use their enforced leisure. One comes through the reading with increasing respect for English efforts to establish unemployment insurance; impressed with the fairness of the average man in the street in his relations to the insurance program.

Although the insurance in many instances must be supplemented by relief and may itself at times take on the aspects of relief, there has been a diminishing of pauperization. Insurance seems to have added dignity to the Poor Law and for all its faults, "unemployment

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insurance has not made paupers. It may have revealed some of them and supported them." Among the workers unemployed there is some malingering, but the administration forces of the unemployment insurance coupled with the influence of the Court of Referees, keeps that at a minimum. On the whole, the report on the law and its administration, as on the behavior of the people, is good. Therein, however, is not the heart of this study.

The real contribution is Bakke's presentation of what goes on in the unemployed man's mind and what happens to his morale. The numbing and blighting effects of being without a job, or being forced to make job-hunting a job—that part of the story is well told and challenging in its importance.

NELS ANDERSON
Seth Low Junior College

"The Power to Keep Alive"

A TAX POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES. *by Harold M. Groves. New Republic. 48 pp. Price 25 cents postpaid of The Survey.*
TAXES AND TAX TRENDS, *by Katherine A. Frederic. National League of Women Voters. 144 pp. Price 50 cents postpaid of The Survey.*

IT IS perhaps significant of a new and developing attitude toward taxation that in the case of two recent pamphlets on taxation one begins and the other ends by quoting the following dictum of the United States Supreme Court: "The power to tax is the one great power on which the whole national fabric is based. . . . It is not only the power to destroy, but also the power to keep alive."

The four articles recently contributed to The New Republic by Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin, have been reprinted in pamphlet form under the title of A Tax Policy for the United States and constitute a valuable statement of liberal tax policies. The author, who is a member of the Wisconsin Assembly and was formerly a member of the State Tax Commission, has an intimate acquaintance with the subject in its administrative as well as its theoretical aspects. He believes that "only through the instrument of taxation can we prevent in the next period of prosperity the exorbitant profits that lead to wild speculation in stocks, to a gross overexpansion of industry and a resulting crash," and urges an adequate program of taxation based on the principle of ability to pay. High income and inheritance taxes are particularly advocated. Recommendations are made concerning the repair of gaps in the tax fence —capital losses, tax-exempt securities, exemption of governmental salaries and tax evasion. Professor Groves condemns the spread of state sales taxes and advocates instead reliance upon income taxes and property taxes based upon net worth.

The National League of Women Voters has issued an elementary text on public finance entitled Taxes and Tax Trends, by Katherine A. Frederic. The book is carefully prepared and is admirably adapted as a reference book for discussion groups. Tax terms are defined and a valuable bibliography is appended. Governmental costs are analyzed. There is a brief discussion of the leading forms of taxation. The League represents one of the constructive, responsible forces working for better government. The appearance of this book will undoubtedly do much to foster an intelligent interest in tax problems on the part of individual members and will also be extremely useful for other organizations with a civic purpose.

MABEL L. WALKER
Executive Secretary, General Welfare Tax League, New York City

NATIONAL POLICIES AFFECTING RURAL LIFE. Proceedings of the Sixteenth American Country Life Conference. *University of Chicago Press. 152 pp. Price $2 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE PROCEEDINGS of the sixteenth American Country Life Conference held last summer in Blacksburg, Va. The Conference was broken down into five round tables whose chairmen reported back to the main body on international policies affecting rural life, and national policies affecting rural education, rural health and welfare, the use of land, agricultural cooperatives. These reports furnish chapters in the proceedings. High lights were Secretary Wallace on World Agriculture, Norman Thomas on a Socialist view of the farmer, and the presence for the first time of the presidents of the three leading farm organizations. A lot of wheat has run down the chute since August but the book is still timely and interesting.

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT WORK

(*Continued from page 189*)

—Mr. Tugwell's proposals, Mr. Hopkins' promises, Mr. Pray's pleas and Miss van Kleeck's arguments. It was all very lively and stimulating, with everyone going away with a headful of new thoughts and presently wondering where he had got them, and, such is the Lindeman method, deciding that they were his own.

The Committee on the American Indian, Mary Louise Marks, Ohio State University, chairman, held two formal meetings, one for the discussion of a plan of social economy for the Navajos and the other for the discussion of the economic rehabilitation of the Indians.

It is always a source of regret that in reporting the National Conference The Survey must give such limited attention to the programs of the Associate Groups where are often found some of the most distinguished contributions to the thinking of the whole body. That regret is particularly keen this year in regard to the Church Conference of Social Work of the Federal Council of Churches and the Episcopal Social Work Conference, both of which had progressive programs close in to the concerns of thoughtful social workers regardless of creed. The Child Welfare League of America and the Family Welfare Association of America had programs which stretched through the entire week, rich with material in their fields. The National Child Welfare Committee of the Ameri-

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WANTED — Position in child-placing and case work. National Children's Home-Finding Society preferred. Opportunity for real service more important than amount of salary. Worker loves and understands children and enjoys living in Receiving Home with them, to better understand their abilities and also to help them overcome habits formed in early environment. Excellent references. Might be able to arrange conference. 7222 SURVEY.

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can Legion, through its chairman, Milt D. Campbell, came out unequivocally for ratification of the child-labor amendment. The National Child Labor Committee at a large luncheon brought up its big guns, local and national, in the same good cause.

The American Public Welfare Association, increasingly prominent in the Conference, became at one moment the tail that wagged the dog, for it was at the Association's dinner that Harry L. Hopkins projected to 700 people his proposals for planned public welfare, (see page 186) to hear which 2500 conference delegates and Kansas Cityans had suffered in vain the preceding night.

The American Association of Social Workers endorsed a letter to President Roosevelt deploring the turn which relief has taken since last February with its departures from the earlier constructive program and stating its belief that, "The needs of those in distress should not be made secondary to the maintenance—or reduction—of a federal budget based upon the existing income from taxation."

The Association of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., followed its custom of holding its meeting in advance. The chest situation is improving, it was reported, with the spring campaigns showing results that promise well for the mobilization next fall.

The National Probation Association likewise held an advance meeting, much of it devoted to discussions of the implications of the Glueck study, A Thousand Juvenile Delinquents. The National Association of Travelers Aid Societies directed much of its attention to the transient who is, it appears, a problem far from solved.

For all its clash of opinions this was a gay conference. Social workers with not a flat-heel or a horn-rim in sight, crowded the hotel dance-floors, and danced till all hours at the reception by the Kansas City Committee to President Hodson. The annual After Hours show of the Social Work Publicity Council was never so mirthful. The sunny malice of Chicago's Barbara Abel, who wrote five of the skits and all of the songs, relaxed tired bodies and tense minds. No one who heard it will soon forget The Song of the Tamed Transient, with its off-stage accompaniment of locomotive tooting and its refrain:

Train, go on your way.
I gotta stay where I am.

Out of this long chronicle of a crowded, stirring week there emerges to the reader, it is hoped, the impression gained by at least two close-in observers: that while there was heavy firing along the advanced front of social thinking, there was also, all the way back through the lines, a great, hard-working, realistic army intent on the day's work and striving soberly to find new and better ways for doing it. How this army will serve the advance-guard these observers do not dare prophesy. Perhaps it will become a service of supply—perhaps a base for retreat. In any case, no one can doubt that the battle will go forward at Montreal in 1935, and that Washington in 1936—a presidential campaign year, be it recalled—will make history.

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